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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE WORLD,
FROM
THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS,
COMPREHENDING
THE LATTER AGES OF EUROPEAN GREECE,
AND
THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK KINGDOMS IN ASIA AND AFRICA,
FROM THEIR FOUNDATION TO THEIR DESTRUCTION;
WITH
*A Preliminary Survey of Alexander's Conquests, and an Estimate of his
Plans for their Consolidation and Improvement.*

BY JOHN GILLIES, LL. D.
F. R. S. and S. A. London, F. R. S. Edinburgh, and Historiographer to
his Majesty for Scotland.

Εκ μὲν τοι γὰρ τῶν ἀπάντων πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπλοκαὶ καὶ παραθίσεις, οἷοι δὲ ὁμοιοτήτος
καὶ διαφορᾶς, μόνος αἱ τὶς ἐφικνέτο· καὶ δυσηβία, κατοπτινύσας, ἀμὰ καὶ τὸ χροσσίμων καὶ τὸ
πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας λαβὼν.
POLYBIUS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

Published by Hopkins and Earle, Philadelphia; Farrand, Mallory and Co.
Boston; and J. W. Campbell, Petersburg, Virginia.

FRY AND KAMMERER, PRINTERS.

1809,

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
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1904

PREFACE.

SINCE the publication of my History of Ancient Greece, twenty years have elapsed; an interval, had it been dedicated solely to one object, still too short to mark and recommend the present volumes, by that completeness of information, and perspicuity of connexion, which must be desired by readers of every class with regard to so important and so splendid a theme as that of Alexander and his successors.

The Grecian dynasty in Asia embraces, indeed, the whole portion of time during which the general affairs of that vast continent admit of any copious and consistent narrative: but in my ambition to heighten the interest of this narrative with the present age and posterity, I have felt the necessity of continually extending my researches beyond the chronology of kings, the intrigues of courts, the dry and often doubtful details of negotiations and battles. Without neglecting any of these indispensable rather than greatly edifying matters, my attention has been chiefly directed to objects of more allurements or more permanency; the local circumstances, occupations, and manners of communities at large, and of the various ranks of persons compo-

sing them; a curious and uncultivated branch of history, towards the advancement of which I have studied to unite even the scantiest and most scattered sources of information that either the fragments of antiquity have delivered down, or the casual notices of modern travellers have laid open.

After the example of the *First* of historians, in point not only of time but of merit, I have inquired, as he does on nearly a similar occasion*, who they were, those ancient and once illustrious nations subdued and long governed by the Greeks and Macedonians: in what characteristic particulars they either agreed with, or differed from each other: what had been their pursuits, and what were their attainments. Through my respectful adherence to a model, the nearest of any to perfection, my readers will proceed easily from the known to the unknown; and the history of Greece, the country to which we are indebted for our general acquaintance with antiquity, will naturally expand into the history of the Eastern world, and of those remote regions of the South and West which gradually fell within the sphere either of its military exertion or of its commercial intercourse.

That this is the fittest method in which the transactions and institutions of past times can be made known to the present, it will be my endeavour in the following

* See Herodotus, Book i. Chap. 95.

volumes to evince. But in estimating both nations and individuals, the opinions even of the learned are too often guided by the decisions of fortune; on which account the history of Rome is very commonly confounded with that of the world. The grave and judicious Polybius composed his invaluable work to explain by what means the Romans, in the space of fifty-three years, commencing with the second Punic war, acquired a decided preponderancy over all those powers, which, in the course of the following century, they reduced into provinces. It was, he thought, a task more easy and more animating to trace the progress of the rising commonwealth, than to rake into the vices and miseries of decaying monarchies: and the same motives which swayed with Polybius, have generally actuated all succeeding historians; though it may be doubted, whether their narratives would not have proved more useful to posterity if, instead of continually expatiating on the wisdom and good management of the victors, they had been at more pains to impress the sad lessons to be learned from the wretched impolicy of the vanquished.

The reigns of Alexander and Augustus are separated by a period of three hundred years, the busiest in the annals of mankind. The close of this period includes, indeed, twenty years of Roman civil wars, on which the nature of my work forbids me to dilate. They contribute in nothing to our better acquaintance with

the natives of those countries which were their scene, and they are altogether unconnected with the principal action of this history; I mean the gradual transfer of dominion from the Greeks and Macedonians to the Romans and Parthians. The civil wars of Rome only conveyed from one military usurper to another * the power already acquired and consolidated by the republic; and are recorded by innumerable writers on the affairs of that empire, with whom I shall not contend, if they arrogate to their own province the whole century contiguous to Augustus, and interweave its most memorable transactions in the majestic series of consular triumphs. But the times nearer to Alexander must be viewed under a different, and altogether independent aspect. Between the reign of that conqueror, (the most brilliant era of Greece,) and the commencing ascendancy of Rome, the events of a hundred and five years intervene, related in a manner so little satisfactory, that they are considered by readers of reflection as leaving a sort of blank in history. This chasm I have endeavoured to fill up, by drawing together many detached incidents, calculated to give form and colour to the subject; and by obviating the chief difficulties attending it, through illustrations from parallel occurrences in earlier and later times.

* Romaines contre Romaines, parens contre parens,
Combattoient seulement, pour le choix des tyrans.

CORNEILLE.

PREFACE.

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From such views of my undertaking, this second part, if it shall be so considered, of the "History of Ancient Greece, its Colonies and Conquests," necessarily rises above the first in greatness and novelty of design: its execution, also, has been incomparably more difficult, from the variety, intricacy, and wide dispersion of my materials: on all which accounts, I anxiously crave for the present work the same public indulgence which its precursor continues to experience.

Upper Seymour-street, June 1807.

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PRELIMINARY SURVEY

OF

ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION I.

Two Aspects of Alexander's Reign. Peculiarities in his Character and Fortune. Resources commensurate to his Undertakings. Political Geography of Asia. Delineation of Mount Taurus to the northern and eastern Extremities of the Macedonian Conquests. Alexander's transactions on those frontiers. Notions of the Greeks concerning Taurus, as the ground of geographical distinction, corrected by modern Discoveries. Military and Caravan Roads through Asia. Alexander's Garrisons and Factories. His new Maxims: I. With regard to Government; II. Religion; III. Revenue.

ALEXANDER died at Babylon in the thirty-third year of his age, agitating vast and various schemes both of war and of policy. His short reign, of only twelve years and eight months, may be viewed under two distinct aspects: either as the termination of republican Greece, thereby drained of her strength, and thenceforth eclipsed of her splendour; or as the commencement of a Grecian dynasty in the East, comprehending in that quarter all those nations whose records are embodied in what is now called ancient history. In treating the subject under the former point of view, I endeavoured,

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I.

Death of Alexander, Olymp. cxiv. 1. Before Christ 324. Two aspects of his reign.

SECT.
I.

in a preceding work¹, to unfold the plan of Alexander's campaigns, and accurately to describe his battles and sieges. But, in contemplating his reign under its second and still more important aspect, as the foundation of a new empire, destined speedily to dissolve into many separate monarchies, it becomes necessary to advert, not only to the exploits which he achieved, but to the extraordinary undertakings which he meditated, and which, verging as they certainly did, on romantic heroism, were nevertheless, the boldest of them, confined within strict practicable limits.

Peculiarities in his character and fortune.

Above all candidates for renown, the Macedonian stands, indeed, preeminent for his uniform and nice discrimination between difficulties and impossibilities. The former, he perseveringly surmounted; with the latter, he never once had the presumption to grapple. This distinction in his favour, which insured to him the highest interest with writers of reflection, has not failed, however, to expose him to the envious blasts of satire, eager to lessen greatness, and to the more pestilent breath of fabulous² panegyric, servilely prone to exaggerate merit into perfection. If his detractors have absurdly arraigned him, as a destroyer, a rod, and a scourge; his admirers are not entitled to adorn him with the fame of a blameless hero. In the usual course of his behaviour, he was mild, temperate, and just³; yet, on several important occasions, he was the victim both of anger and of pleasure; the two most ordinary sources of human frailty. But such personal excellencies or defects disappear before the splendour of his public life, the regular boldness of his plans, and the unrivalled magnitude of his performances. Endowed with an alertness and energy peculiarly his own, he nevertheless practised patiently in war the lessons derived from Philip,

¹ History of Ancient Greece.

² Strabo, l. ii. p. 70. and l. xv. p. 798. How deeply is the loss to be regretted of Strabo's Commentary on the Transactions of Alexander, alluded to in the former of these passages!

He speaks of him upwards of seventy times in the course of his Geography, and always with perfect consistency.

³ Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 29. and passim.

ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

2

the greatest of generals. In his civil administration, and the prudent management of his conquests, he adhered as invariably to maxims instilled⁴ by Aristotle, the greatest of philosophers. This singularity in his proceedings, as regulated by the lessons and authority of two such men, and of such opposite principles or purposes, strangely overlooked as it has been, by historians and philosophers of Europe, was clearly recognised by Mandanis, an Indian and a priest, when he declared the invading Macedonian the only proficient in wisdom, that he had ever known even by report, at the head of a victorious army⁵.

SECT.
I.

Writers, innumerable, have celebrated the valour or fortune of Alexander; but few, in imitation of Mandanis, seem willing to admire his wisdom or sound policy. To do justice to this part of his character, it is necessary to ascertain, how far his resources were adequate to his great undertakings, and how far his bare projects were warranted by reason and experience.

Before he thought fit to cross the Hellespont into Asia, he not only extinguished rebellion in Greece and Macedon, but subdued the wider and rougher parts of what is now called Turkey in Europe, inhabited then, as at present, by Thracians and Illyrians, stubborn and warlike nations⁶. Most

His resources commensurate to his undertakings.

⁴ Strabo, l. i. p. 67. This passage anticipates and refutes the false praise bestowed on Alexander at the expense of his preceptor, who, according to Plutarch, advised him to treat the Greeks as freemen, and the Barbarians as slaves. Plutarch's report, of which we shall afterwards see clearly the very improper grounds, has been followed by all modern writers, even the most respectable: Witness the late Dr. Robertson in his Disquisition concerning India, page 23, 4to edit. Yet Strabo concludes, "Alexander did not neglect the admonitions sent to him, but accepted them with full approbation, and completely complied with their sense and spirit."

What this sense and spirit were, may be seen in my translation of Aristotle's practical works, vol. ii. p. 37. and seq. 8vo edit.

⁵ Strabo, l. xv. p. 715.

⁶ Arrian, *Exped. Alexand.* l. ii. c. 7. The epithets bestowed on them by the Greek historian, they deserve to the present day. Under the names of Croats, Bosnians, Bulgarians, and Servians they still form towards Europe the iron frontier of Turkish power, hating the Christians in their neighbourhood with the pride of Moslems, exasperated by the inveteracy of borderers. Sadly did the unhappy Emperor Joseph experience their stubborn valour in 1788.

SECT. I. useful recruits might thus be derived from the ample region between the confines of the Danube and the sea of Peloponnesus; a country much surpassing Great Britain in extent, and in that age exuberantly populous. The revenues of Macedonia, arising partly from the gold mines of Philippi, and those near the lake Bolbe⁷, may, on good grounds, be estimated at the value of a million sterling⁸; an annual supply in those days, which notwithstanding the high pay and liberal subsistence enjoyed⁹ by the Greeks and Macedonians, will appear on calculation sufficient to keep on foot an army, moderate in point of number, but so judiciously composed and so perfectly disciplined, that no enemies with whom it was ever called to contend, could either resist its strength or elude its velocity.

By an adherence to his preconcerted plan of first gaining the maritime cities of Lesser Asia, before he advanced inland, the invader acquired the command of the sea, and thereby ensured the best means of availing himself of his domestic resources. Long before the Indians beheld his altars on the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, he should seem to have drawn from Europe contingents of troops of very disproportionate magnitude to the small army of thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse¹⁰ which he originally con-

⁷ Herodotus, l. v. c. 17.

⁸ This will appear hereafter from the sums brought into the Roman treasury, and a critical examination of the passages recording them, in Livy, Pliny and Velleius Paterculus.

⁹ According to Thucydides and Demosthenes the subsistence of Athenian horsemen was equal to their pay, and their pay was a drachma, that is nearly eight-pence daily. The captain had only twice the pay of the rank and file, and the general only twice the pay of a captain. Xenoph. de Exped. Cyri, l. vii. p. 403. edit. Leuncl. According to these data, and making ample allowance for contingencies, the ex-

pense of 30,000 foot and 5,000 horse needed not exceed 900,000*l*.

¹⁰ The numbers are differently reported: the highest account makes them 43,000 foot, and 5,500 horse. Plutarch de Virtut. Alexand. Orat. i. p. 327. Edit. Xyland. Arrian and Curtius do not profess to specify every reinforcement. Without having in view the general muster, I extracted from them the following contingents:

6,000
500
3,000
500
4,000
500
6,000

In all 20,500

ducted across the Hellespont; and the success of his arms in Asia speedily procured him most powerful auxiliaries in that quarter. The western division of the Persian empire, containing an incongruous assemblage of indignant republics and rebellious satrapies, hung so loosely together, that one proportion of those reluctant tributaries might be employed in subduing the other, and both of them be afterwards directed against the remaining force of the monarchy. In the course of four laborious campaigns, and through the success chiefly of the three great battles of Granicus, Issus, and Arbela, and the two memorable sieges of Halicarnassus and Tyre, Alexander thus laid at his mercy dominions twenty times more wealthy¹¹ than his hereditary kingdom. Many robust yet docile Asiatics were embodied under European officers, and with what experience discovered to be a fit admixture of European soldiers; commonly four Greeks to twelve barbarians in each division of sixteen¹²; that is, in each file of the phalanx. The stoutest and bravest among the vanquished, might delight in the Grecian exercises, and glory at being instructed in the arts, and associated to the arms of the victors: but a passion far more powerful with the multitude than the transient love of glory, would facilitate Alexander's levies of oriental troops, if he really seized at Susa¹³ the value of nine millions sterling, and as concurring authorities attest, double

SECT.
I.

¹¹ Herodotus, l. iii. c. 95. is thought to give 14,560 Eubœic talents, equal to 2,807,437*l.* for the revenues of Persia; but this sum appears to have formed rather the privy purse of the emperor. Conf. Herodot. i. 192. iii. 92. Xenoph. Leucl. p. 230. and 510. Plato Opera, vol. ii. p. 121. Edit. Ficini. and Strabo, l. xv. p. 735. The contributions levied in kind (corn, cattle, cloth, drugs,) equalled those in money, that is, silver. The free gifts on new year's days were considerable. Plato, vol. ii. p. 121. The distinction above alluded to between the privy purse and the pub-

lic revenue has passed through a variety of dynasties from the ancient Persians to the modern Turks: but the Hasné or privy purse of the Grand Seignor is now richer than the Miri: which latter is said to amount to 4,000,000*l.* Eton's Turkish Empire. The custom of presents to their kings on the new year prevails also among the modern Persians. Chardin and Della Valle.

¹² Conf. Arrian, vii. 23. and Plutarch in Alexand. p. 691.

¹³ Diodorus Siculus, l. xv. sect. 66. Arrian, iii. 16. Curtius, v. 2. Justin. xi. 14.

SECT. I. that amount in the imperial strong hold of Persepolis ¹⁴. His army, therefore, continually swelled with the progress of his expedition eastward; and the division which he personally conducted, was never more numerous than in the modern province of Lahore and on the farther bank of the Hyphasis. At this eastern extremity of his conquests, he mustered an hundred and twenty thousand men ¹⁵; and in the last year of his life, he was joined in one day on the Tigris by thirty thousand ¹⁶ barbarians, armed and disciplined after the Grecian fashion.

Subjects of
discussion
preparatory
to the
following
history.

To qualify my readers for perusing the following history with some degree of interest, I shall endeavour to lay before them a sort of statistical survey of the various dominions of Alexander, and describe the distribution of his Greeks and Macedonians among them, in reference to local circumstances, and to that easy and general intercourse, which, according to universal testimony, he laboured throughout to establish: I shall examine his singular proceedings in the three main points of government, religion, and revenue; and shall exert the utmost diligence to explain, fully and clearly, how far in the concerns either of domestic industry or foreign commerce, he prosecuted the plans of preceding princes, or embraced new ones, peculiar to himself; and of which as none before him had set the example, so certainly none who followed him, have ever presumed on the imitation. By the discussion of these important topics, our minds will be prepared to unravel the intricacy of the perturbed scenes that opened in the eastern world, and which brought into action all its elements and powers. The struggle for empire among the Macedonian captains is the most memorable warfare ever waged in Asia in point of duration and obstinacy, and the only general conflict in that quarter of the globe, during which the resources of wealth and numbers were steadily directed by scientific skill and disciplined valour. It terminated

¹⁴ Diodorus, xvii. 71. Strabo, xv. 731. Curtius, v. 6. and Plutarch in Alexand.

¹⁵ Curtius, viii. 6.

¹⁶ Arrian, I. vii. c. 8. and 32. and Plutarch in Alexand.

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by the battle of Ipsus in the Greater Phrygia, fought twenty-two years after Alexander's demise; through which memorable action his empire was indeed irrecoverably ruined as a whole, yet continued, in consequence of arrangements that had been made by him, to flourish conspicuously in many of its parts or fragments ¹⁷.

SECT.
I.

In treating the first branch of my subject, I could wish to perform what the Greek historian of this period has been contented with promising; and to draw a lively picture impressive on the fancy and memory ¹⁸, of the political geography of Asia from the Grecian sea to the Indus, exhibiting all the important peculiarities by which the several portions of that vast territory were essentially characterized. A delineation of the twenty satrapies of Darius would not entirely answer my purpose, since, according to that distribution, which was made chiefly with a view to tribute, nations were classed in the same satrapy, not only dissimilar in manners, but in local situation extremely remote from each other ¹⁹. Besides this inconvenience, the number of the satrapies occasionally underwent alteration ²⁰; it was imprudently reduced by Darius's successors, who thereby strengthened the hands of their more powerful viceroys or vassals, spontaneously too prone to rebellion; and neither Alexander, nor those who came after him, adhered to a division artificial and arbitrary, since unguided by those permanent differences by which nature had characterized the country, and those almost equally invariable with which time and custom had marked its inhabitants.

Political
geography
of Asia.

¹⁷ 'Ες (scil. Αλεξανδρου αρχης) δια-
λυσις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξελαμψε τα μέρη.
Appian. in Præfac. c. 10.

¹⁸ Πρὸ οφθαλμοῦ τῆς οὐχίας τῆς ἡλίου
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, &c. Diodorus, l. xviii.
sect. 5.

¹⁹ Herodotus, l. iii. c. 89. To
which add the invaluable commen-
tary of our great geographer; Ren-
nell's Geography of Herodotus, p.
329—323 The subject of the Per-

sian satrapies is learnedly treated
also by Mr. Heeren in his well
known work "Idées über die Poli-
tik, &c." that is, "Ideas on the Po-
lity, Intercourse, and Commerce of
the Principal States of Antiquity,"
p. 103—350.

²⁰ Confer. Herodot. ubi supra,
and Xenophon Hellen, and Anabasis.
passim.

SECT. I Considered under their most general aspect, the Macedonian dominions in the east comprehended the peninsula²¹ of Lesser Asia bounded by three seas; the kingdom of Egypt on the opposite or southern side of the Mediterranean; and the most renowned portion of the ancient continent running eastward of that sea, and nearly commensurate with its entire expanse of water both in magnitude and in climate. Alexander's conquests will thus be found to have extended forty-five degrees of longitude over the fairest portion of the temperate zone: their greatest breadth stretched over twenty degrees of latitude, from the sea of Aral and the Iaxartes, to the mouth of the Indus, the entrance of the Persian gulph, and the southern frontier of Egypt; all three positions in the near vicinity of the northern tropic.

Lesser Asia. In this mighty and generally compact fabric of empire, Lesser Asia and Egypt sufficiently distinguished themselves as outspreading appendages on two opposite sides of the Mediterranean. The former is a peninsula nearly equal to Germany in extent, and which, during many ages of antiquity, might be compared with the German empire in the wide variety of its governments. It contained generally, but most conspicuously along the sea coast, a strong admixture of European blood; which circumstance rendered it equally important in a political and military point of view. It had been long famed for its arts and opulence; and its prosperity cannot be suspected of decline under Alexander and his successors, if, after many merciless depredations by Mithridates and the Romans, Mark Anthony by a double requisition really extorted from it in one year, the amount of forty millions sterling²². In the progress of this work, the enormity of that sum will be reduced nearer to the standard of probability, when

²¹ The term used by Strabo, l. xiv. p. 673. Appian says, this sum was the tribute of ten years, Appian, Bell. Civile.

²² Plutarch in Anton, p. 926. App. l. v. c. 5.

we contrast the ancient sources of the riches of Lesser Asia with the actual causes of its wretched poverty. Let it suffice for the present to observe, that it exhibited for the extent of two thousand miles along its winding coast a series of flourishing seaports, most of them Greek colonies and republics; an unbroken line of civilization and commercial activity, that can be compared so fitly with nothing in the ancient or modern world, as with the long list of British colonies, now United States, on the coast of North America.

Of ancient Egypt we should judge very improperly by the degraded country now bearing that name. The Egyptians of old, whose ingenuity had subdued the Nile, and controlled its desolating superabundance or too niggardly²³ contributions of water, are described as an orderly and courteous people, delighting in habitual industry, enjoying great vigour of health, and according to the report of Herodotus, those of them cultivating husbandry, or resident in cities, the most intelligent of all foreigners, with whom that acute Greek historian in the course of his long travels, had the good fortune to converse²⁴. Through the sacred indolence of the Moslems in neglecting the various branches and canals of the Nile, Egypt is reduced to half its ancient cultivable soil²⁵, and contains not even a half of its ancient population²⁶. Through terror of the wandering Arabs and banditti that perpetually infest its frontier, it is cut off from the mountains of the Red Sea, which supplied it with a profusion of precious marbles. With the ruin of its useful or elegant arts, it has long ceased to command an invaluable caravan commerce, which had rendered it successively a powerful independent kingdom, and the richest satrapy, except Babylonia, in the

²³ Strabo, xvii. 787. and again, p. 811. *Καίθεα δὲ ταμίαι δι' ἀρχιτεκτονίης, τοῦ τι ἰσχυρὸν ὕδωρ καὶ τοῦ ἱερῶν.*

²⁴ Herodot. ii. 77. & seq.

²⁵ See Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 521—533.

²⁶ Josephus states its populousness at eight millions. *Dē Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 4.* Its inhabitants are now reduced to less than three millions. Pococke, Volney, and different Histories of the British Expedition to Egypt, in 1801.

SECT. I. Persian empire, before Alexander and his successors made it the great maritime emporium of nations. In this flourishing state, it fell into the hands of the Romans, and was governed by them six complete centuries, producing an annual revenue little exceeding indeed three millions sterling²⁷; but which, even in the splendid age of Augustus, far surpassed the present value of that sum in exchange either with the labour of man, or the useful productions of nature.

Assyria
and Ariana
mutually
separated
by mount
Zagros.

Beyond the Mediterranean, and the peninsula which that sea washes and confines, the broader expanse of Asia is commonly divided into the territories to the east and west of the Tigris. But this most celebrated portion of the ancient continent, as the immemorial seat of endless dynasties, may be more fitly distinguished by the chain of mountains a little east of the Tigris, separating anciently the dominions of Assyria from those of Media, and constituting the actual boundary between the Turkish and Persian powers. In this mountainous chain, which stretches from the confines of the Euxine to the shores of the Persian gulph, Zagros is the most important link, since forming, as it were, the western wall of Media-Magna. Zagros separates²⁸ that widest of the satrapies from the once richer and more renowned regions watered by the navigable courses of the Euphrates and Tigris. By establishing mount Zagros for the ground of our division, we shall at once impartially respect the great distinctions of empire in ancient and modern times, the comparative extent and value of territory, and those essential differences of blood and language by which chiefly the nations of the earth are either united or discriminated. Various languages, as will be explained hereafter, were spoken in the Asiatic peninsula; but from the confines of the peninsula to those of Media,

²⁷ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 798. The revenue under the Beys was estimated at 1,500,000*l.* Wilson's British Expedition, p. 226.

²⁸ Το Ζαγρίον διαρίζον την Μοδιαν και Βαβυλωνίαν. Strabo, l. xv. p. 522. Conf. Polybius, l. v. c. 44.

the Syrian prevailed universally²⁹; and the Persian held nearly³⁰ the same extensive sway to the Indus over Media; Persia, the proper Persia; Bactria, or Bactriana, and all the inferior provinces of the East. In point of habits and manners, Zagros formed a boundary not less palpable. To the west of it lived the Assyrians, a people comparatively peaceful and civilized; to the east, dwelt the rude Caspians, Hyrcanians, Parthians, Arians, Bactrians, Sogdians, all of them alike armed with bows made of reeds, or bamboos, and short lances: in their persons and customs there was a clear and striking resemblance, which universally betrayed a strong admixture of Scythian blood, and Scythian barbarism³¹.

In the geography of the Greeks, Assyria often confounded with Syria, comprehended the four following countries³²: Mesopotamia and Babylonia, respectively the northern and southern divisions of the vast peninsula between the Tigris and Euphrates; Atur or Adiabene³³, lying to the east of the Tigris; and Syria proper, the extensive province to the west of the Euphrates, and reaching from that mighty stream to the coast of the Mediterranean³⁴. As the coincidence in language and institutions united the whole of those regions under the common appellation of Assyria, so a similar uniformity diffused over the countries on the other side of Zagros even to India, the ancient and general name of Ariana³⁵, a name easily recognisable in the Eriene or Iran³⁶ of Oriental writers. But, in consequence of the ascendancy, acquired, lost, recovered,

SECT.
I.

Assyria, its
divisions.

Ariana, or
Persia, its
divisions.

²⁹ Τῆς διαλεκτῆς μιχρὴν διαμεινῆς τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς τι ἐκτὸς τῆς Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις. Strabo, l. i. p. 41.

³⁰ Οὐκ ὀλίγοιτοι παρὰ μικρὸν. Id. l. xv. p. 724.

³¹ Herodot. l. vii. c. 61. & seq.

³² Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, and Arrian: particularly Herodotus, i. 106. and 178.

³³ Plin. N. H. l. v. c. 12. This country was called Atur by the natives; which name the Romans

confounded with Assyria in its general signification. Dion Cassius, l. lxxviii. in Trajan: an error in names which occasioned great confusion in history as well as geography.

³⁴ Ἡ κατὰ σὺρίαν. Strabo, l. xv. p. 692. "The Lower Syria," that is nearer the sea coast.

³⁵ Strabo, xv. p. 688.

³⁶ Zendavesta passim, and D'Herbelot, Artic. Iran.

SECT. and at different periods of history long held by Persis, the
 I. proper Persia, adjacent to the Persian gulph, the name of Ariana was in later times supplanted, and among the historians and geographers of Europe, at length totally sunk in that of Persia, including not only the countries of Ariana above mentioned, but the extensive territory southward, washed by the Erythræan sea, and having the Persian gulph and the Indus for its western and eastern boundaries. Within this spacious quadrangle, four times the extent of France, the main body of modern Persia extends its useless bulk, the inland regions being scantily supplied with water, and the coast of the Erythræan sea unprovided with safe harbours³⁷. Its southern parts are indelibly marked by the wide deserts of Carmania and Gedrosia, and its shores were in all ages of antiquity deformed by miserable Ichthyophagi, far spread though feeble tribes, whose bread consisted of dried fishes, their houses of fish bones, and whose sole distinctions of honour depended on the quantity and kinds which they had collected of those wretched materials³⁸. But Carmania and Gedrosia, now Kerman and Makran, were respectively bounded on the north by Arachosia and Saranga, provinces refreshed by projecting branches of the Paropamisus³⁹. Fertility began with the mountains; and as this tract of Persia formed the shortest communication between India and Assyria, its inhabitants, improved by commerce, are characterized⁴⁰ by their party coloured robes of delicate texture, their wealth, civility, and beneficence, long before the erection there by Alexander of stations or staples connected by direct roads with Babylon, which that conqueror purposed to render the centre of universal commerce, as well as the capital of his mighty empire. From this general survey, it will ap-

³⁷ Oliarius, Tavernier, Chardin, Le Brun.

³⁸ Arriani Indica, c. 29.

³⁹ In the middle of the 17th century, Tavernier visited a ruinous city unwall'd, supposed the capital of Carmania, and situate in a com-

paratively fertile district. Voyage en Persé, p. 107. & seq. It appears from his distances to have stood near the borders of Saranga.

⁴⁰ Diodorus, xvii. 8. Conf. Herodotus, vii. 67.

pear that leaving for the present India out of the account, the Asiatic dominions of Alexander comprehended the comparatively narrow peninsula compressed between the Euxine and Mediterranean; the widely spreading Assyria, inhabited by Assyrians or Syrians; and Ariana or Persia, the country of the Medes and Persians, and all the kindred nations of the East.

In each member of this threefold division, we shall find many characteristic differences; moral as well as physical. But in surveying the whole generally, Greek historians discovered a feature in its geography, which pervaded its entire length, and of which they often make use for distinguishing, not only the larger masses of this territory, but also the minuter groups into which power or policy had thrown it⁴¹. With both these views, their descriptions of that part of the eastern continent, at all open to their researches, are commonly guided by the bold form of its mountains, which decide the course of those great rivers, to whose natural inundations, modified by patient artificial management, the dry Assyrian plains wholly owed their fertility and beauty. These gigantic highlands, the great laboratory of Asia, directly cross the chain of Zagros⁴² above noticed, incomparably exceeding it, however, in the length of their course. Commencing in the south-western corner of the peninsula, nearly opposite to Rhodes, they hold under the general name of Taurus, a direction parallel to the Mediterranean, and thus divide Lesser Asia into two unequal parts, by separating the southern and rugged districts of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia from the more extensive and more level provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia. At the sacred promontory of Lycia, a branch of Taurus first rises to conspicuous eminence, overhanging the

⁴¹ Conf. Diodorus, l. xviii. c. 5. & seq. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 673. and Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. v. c. 5. & seq. the text to Zagros is conformable to Strabo, l. xi. p. 522. Conf. Polybius, l. v. c. 44. Ptolemy enlarges mount Choathros at the expense of Zagros.

⁴² The importance assigned in

SECT. I. adjacent sea, and thence boasting the proud name⁴³ of Olympus, a name usurped by many other mountains, both in ancient Greece and in her Asiatic settlements. Taking an oblique course as it advances towards the eastern confines of the peninsula, Taurus assumes there a greater elevation, sometimes surveying from its summits at once the Mediterranean and the Euxine, and then gradually diffuses itself over the table land of Armenia, a country in the same latitude with Spain, yet experiencing, in consequence of its height, the utmost severity of winter⁴⁴. From this huge trunk, as it were, of the mountain, a branch extends northwards, which, under the name of Caucasus, towers between the Euxine and Caspian seas, and from its northern ridges overlooks the boundless deserts of Sarmatia and Scythia. In a direction opposite to that of Caucasus, Zagros, as above observed, separated Assyria from Media-Magna, forming the western frontier of the latter. The principal entrance into Media, conducted to that beautiful district, which lies between Ecbatana, now Hamadan, and the lake Maraga⁴⁵: and the main issue from the same great province to more eastern lands, passed through the Caspian gates, a vast chasm eight miles long, and commonly forty yards broad, at the distance of an hundred miles due south from the Caspian sea⁴⁶. Media, which thus constituted the link of communication between Assyria and Ariana, was, as above observed, both in a moral and geographical point of view, a great and important boundary. To the west of the Medes lived the Assyrians, a people more polished

⁴³ Ολυμπος δι οιον ὀλολαμνη. Aristot. de Mundo, &c. thence denoting "the all shining mansions of the Gods." See Homer, Odyss. vi. v. 42. beautifully translated by Lucretius, iii. v. 18.

Apparet Divum numen, sedesque quietæ,
Quas neque coneuat ventis, etc.

And Claudian,
Celsior exurgit pluvis, auditque ruentes
Sub pedibus nimbos, et rauca tonitrua
calcat.

Most ancient nations had their
Olympus, even the Scythians, whose

descendents, the Tartars, still venerate as such mount Cashgur on the frontier of their great desert Cobi. In the same manner Asgard was the Olympus of the Scandinavians. See Edda.

⁴⁴ Xenoph. de Exped. Cyri, l. iv. p. 329.

⁴⁵ Herodotus, l. v. c. 52. Compare the modern authorities in Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 277. and 338.

⁴⁶ Plin. N. H. l. vi. c. 14. Conf. Dellavalle, vol. iii. p. 65.

than themselves; the contrary was the case, with the Parthians, Arians, and Persians, their eastern neighbours. SECT.
I.

After pushing forth the opposite branches of Caucasus and Zagros, the great mountain, or rather the table land studded with mountains, continues its course eastward, assuming a little beyond the site of Ecbatana, or Hamadan, the sounding name of Orontes. The portion of Taurus distinguished by this name, separated the two Medias, the northern mostly a rugged district, fit only for rude pasturage, the southern, deservedly called Media-Magna, a country abounding in beautiful vallies susceptible of the highest cultivation, and successively the main stock of the Persian and Parthian empires, neither of which were of much account until the kindred nation of the Medes reinforced their power. From the neighbourhood of the Caspian gates, Taurus pushes southward the Paratacaene⁴⁷ hills, a branch parallel to Zagros, separating Media from Persia; while the great primary chain still continues its eastern direction through the unfruitful tracts of Hyrcania and Parthia, corresponding with the rougher parts of the modern Khorosan, and from thence to the great kingdom of Bucharia, a kingdom comprehending the Bactria⁴⁸ and Sogdia of the ancients. Under their rude modern appellations these valuable provinces have long been deformed by Tartars, but they were anciently embellished by Greeks beyond most regions of the East; and their situation on the Scythian frontier will give to them much military importance in the subsequent history.

At the extremity of Bactria, the swelling range divides and expands into two broad belts, the one called Imaus, stretching towards the Hyperborean regions, and the coast of Nova

⁴⁷ As Zagros is the western, so the Paratacaene hills are the eastern, wall of Media. The two parallel chains lie about 300 miles asunder. The Paratacaene mountains of Media advance southward to join those of Persis, the proper

Persia: the chain is only interrupted by the valley of Ispahan, which city is scarcely four miles distant from the southern mountains. Bell's Travels, vol. i. p. 118.

⁴⁸ Γη Βακτριαν. Strabo. Thence often called Bactriana.

SECT. Zembla; the other, under the successive names of Paropamisus, the Indian Caucasus, and Emodus, and holding the original eastern course, and composing the vast highlands that long defended the wealth and effeminacy of Hindostan; while on the opposite, or northern side, they form an obtuse angle with Imaus, and thus inclose the great desert of Shamo or Cobi⁴⁹, whose frightful sterility still shuts up and guards the unwarlike populousness of China. Alexander attempted not to scale Imaus, the ascent to the proper region of those Scythians, who boasted of being the ancientest of men, because their country was the most elevated⁵⁰, and whose desolating inundations have so often deformed the face of the eastern world. Menacing hordes of the same warlike nation, he encountered on the banks of the Iaxartes, the northern boundary of Sogdiana or Sogdia. After wounding them from his engines across that broad river, he passed to the opposite shore on skins, and assailed the insolent barbarians in a manner so new to them, and so resistless, that they had recourse to a hasty submission⁵¹. His friendship was then granted to the great Khan, who disavowed the hostile proceedings of a worthless part of his subjects; and Alexander having thus sustained the matchless fame of his arms, allowed himself with admirable policy to be restrained by divine warnings from violating the inward majesty of the desert, into which there was not any rational human motive that should induce him to penetrate⁵².

The Paropamisus.

To the sagacity of that conqueror, the ridges of Paropamisus were not less alluring than Imaus had been repulsive. The southern mountains contained the inlets to India, a

⁴⁹ Shamo, or Shamoo, is the Chinese name, signifying the "Sea of Sand." Cobi is the Tartar name for the same desert.

⁵⁰ Justin, l. ii. c. 1. The boast of those western Scythians in Justin is clearly derived from their eastern brethren the Calmouks and Zongones, who hold the same proud language to the present day. La Chappe Voyage en Siberie, p. 302.

The ascent to Chinese Tartary is found by barometrical observations to be 16,000 feet above the Yellow Sea. Conf. Pallas. Act. Petropol. An. 1777. Staunton's Voyage to China, vol. ii. p. 206. and Kirwan's Geological Essays, p. 26. & seq.

⁵¹ Arrian, l. iv. c. 5. and seq. Conf. Plutarch in Alexand. p. 691

⁵² Arrian, *ibid*.

country disfigured, indeed, by Greek fables, but known to produce commodities peculiar to itself, and of universal demand among all the civilized nations of antiquity. In penetrating through the Paropamisus thither, Alexander pursued the same route that had been opened, or frequented, by ancient caravans, and which has been followed, as is well known, by all future conquerors. From the precision with which the avenues to India are defined by rivers and defiles, armies in different ages have constantly invaded that country by the same unvaried tract⁵³; all of them have traversed the Paropamisus so as to descend into the valley of Candahar, and all have crossed the Indus at Taxila, now Attock, because the only place on that river where the slackened rapidity of its stream conveniently admits a bridge. But, in his transactions in the neighbourhood of the Indus, and his return to that of the Euphrates, Alexander displayed views in his expedition altogether different from the merciless depredations of a Nadir Shah, a Tamerlane, and a Mahmut. The mountainous inlets to India were formed into a Macedonian province, under the name of the Satrapy of Paropamisus, and bridled by well garrisoned cities, particularly two Alexandrias, upon, or near⁵⁴, the sites of the modern Cabul and Candahar, places still recognised as the two principal gates of Hindostan; the former towards Tartary, the latter towards Persia. The highlands surrounding Cabul and Candahar, containing the sources of the Oxus and Indus, must always be important in a commercial point of view, since they unite the navigable course of those great rivers; but they were of far greater relative importance in those ages, when the commerce of the East was carried on chiefly or solely by inland communications. In the Panjab again, or country watered by the five eastern branches of the Indus, the pacific Taxiles, and the warlike Porus, were alike reinstated in their dominions,

⁵³ Conf. Arrian, l. iv. c. 22. and D'Anville *Eclairciss. sur la Géograph. de la Haute Asie*, p. 19.

⁵⁴ Rennell's *Memoir of a map of Hindostan*, p. 153—167. 3d edition.

SECT. and admitted to the rank of friends⁵⁵. But a surer friend,

I.

Python, the son of Agenor⁵⁶, was left with a body of Greeks in the Panjab, as superintendant of Macedonian affairs in that valuable⁵⁷ territory. These arrangements so essential to the inland commerce carried on with India, were accompanied by naval undertakings of a bolder nature, but not less decided utility. On the banks chiefly of the Indus and Hydaspes a fleet was constructed, or collected, that from the trireme to the tender, amounted to two thousand sail⁵⁸. While the land forces in divisions pervaded the country on either side, this great armament pursued its triumphant course for the space of six hundred miles down the Indus to the ocean. Having accomplished this voyage, the least serviceable vessels were laid up in the Indian Delta, a district formed by alluvions of the Indus, into the same triangular shape with the well known Delta of the Nile. The stouter ships or gallies Alexander then manned with above ten thousand Greeks or Phœnicians, and intrusted them to Nearchus, the zealous friend of his youth and adversity during the suspicious reign of Philip, that he might explore the navigation between the mouth of the Indus, and the inmost recess of the Persian gulph: an enterprise which that commander successfully performed in the course of somewhat less than five months, and which he afterwards clearly and impressively described⁵⁹. Meanwhile the Greek cities of Bucephalia and Nicæa, and others whose very names have perished⁶⁰, were built in the five tributary streams which water the Panjab; and Pattala,

⁵⁵ Arrian, l. v. c. 20.

⁵⁶ Thus named by Diodorus, xviii. 39. to distinguish him from Python, the son of Crateas, an officer, as we shall see, of higher rank in Alexander's service.

⁵⁷ Plutarch, p. 699. says that Alexander subdued 5,000 cities in India, as large as Cos; and Strabo, l. xiv. p. 657. says that Cos, though a beautiful and elegant, is but a small city. "It contained about five or six thousand inhabitants: for

Arrian informs us that the country of the Glauca in India contained 37 cities, which had from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants." Arrian, l. v. c. 20.

⁵⁸ Arrian, l. v. c. 2. The numbers, however, are different in his Indian history, c. 19.

⁵⁹ Apud Arrian, Hist. Indic. c. 20. & seq.

⁶⁰ Plutarch, Arrian, Diodorus, and Pliny.

now Tatta, was built on the Indus itself, near the top of the Delta⁶¹, destined in Alexander's fond fancy to become the Memphis of the Indian world. SECT.
I.

In compliance with the example of ancient historians, I have thus traced mount Taurus to the extremity of the Macedonian conquests. But truth obliges me to observe, that the delineation of this stony girdle of Asia would far better discriminate the divisions of that continent, if its nature more exactly corresponded to the notions which Greek writers entertained of it. They considered this mountainous range, particularly in its prolongation eastward, as separating⁶² the dark regions of cold and penury, from the delicious and bright plains of Southern Asia, from countries whose names revive the ideas of wealth and pleasure; peculiarly adapted to the arts of peace, and the multiplication of men and animals; the first that were adorned by great cities, and which as the warm genial soil, when softened by irrigation, is in no season of the year condemned to barren sleep, produced abundantly, through many successions of ages and empires, whatever can soothe the senses or delight the fancy. But this bold distinction is wanting in correctness. Within the precincts of Lesser Asia, the Greeks well knew that the southern districts of Lycia, Pamphilia, and Cilicia, are rougher and less fertile than the great central plains of Phrygia and Cappadocia, or the still more northerly tract of Pontus, watered by the Iris and Thermodon⁶³. Beyond the limits of that peninsula, Taurus, in its progress eastward, instead of forming a narrow line of partition, swells generally in breadth between the thirty-fifth and fortieth degrees of north latitude, and the provinces to which ancient historians assign it for the southern boundary, namely, Armenia,

⁶¹ Strabo, l. xv. p. 701.

⁶² Diodorus, xviii. 5. Conf. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 673. and Arrian, l. v. c. 5. All these Greek writers considered Taurus also as an unbroken ridge, dividing the two great central regions of Asia, Iran and Turan, as they are called by the orientals.

But in describing the roads from India to Turan, the more northern region, the Ayin Acbaree mentions one by the way of Candahar entirely free from hills. Rennell's Memoir p. 154.

⁶³ Strabo, l. xii. p. 548.

SECT. I. Media-Atrapatena, Parthia, Sogdia, and Bactria, are all of

them partly, and some of them chiefly composed of the broad mountainous chain itself. Yet we shall see in the progress of this history, that these northern lands teemed with fruitful and beautiful vallies, immemorially praised by the orientals as earthly paradises; whereas not to mention the southern regions of Carmania and Gedrosia, which can only be classed with the Syrian and Arabian deserts, Persis, the proper Persia, five degrees south of Taurus, is naturally one of the roughest and poorest divisions in the empire bearing its name, and only exceeded by the neighbouring haunts of the predatory Uxii and Cossæans, in the forbidding aspect of the country and native fierceness of its inhabitants. The fortieth degree of latitude, however, which formed the great northern boundary of Alexander's Asiatic empire, may be regarded as a clear and decisive limit⁶⁴ between pastoral and agricultural nations, separating the peaceful Armenians from the irreclaimable tenants of Caucasus; Media-Magna from Media Atrapatena; Sogdia and Bactria from Scythia; and beyond the geography known to the Greeks, the indefatigable husbandmen of China, from the Nomades in Chinese Tartary.

Military
road
through
Asia.

Before I proceed to explain the distribution of the Greeks and Macedonians among the various provinces which I have enumerated, it will be proper to advert to the natural and usual communications between them in the whole of their extent from the Ægean sea to the Indus. Under the Persians, whose thoughts turned solely on aggrandizement or security, part of this vast route was marked by a great military road which extended above thirteen hundred miles from the Choaspes or Eulæus⁶⁵, to the Greek coast of Ionia. The banks of the Eulæus were adorned by Susa, a rich and flourishing city, of whose immemorial prosperity, the sources

⁶⁴ Compare Strabo, Diodorus, and Arrian above cited, with Charadin, Tavernier, and Foster's journey from Bengal to England in 1798.

⁶⁵ The Choaspes and Eulæus unite their streams a little above Susa: thence the confusion of names.

will afterwards be explained. It stood two hundred⁶⁶ miles east of Babylon on the same extended plain, and through hatred to the Babylonians had been preferred by the kings of Persia, for the usual residence of their court, and the chief seat of their empire⁶⁷. In consequence of this circumstance, the military or royal road, for the purpose of the historian who describes it, is carried no further than Susa. This road passed⁶⁸ from the Grecian sea through the central provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia; penetrated through the Cilician passes at Issus, crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma, and thence traversed Mesopotamia to Nineveh or Mosul, the ordinary passage of the Tigris. It then took its direction southward through Adiabene or Aturia, and crossed the four rivers, which, after watering that province, fall into the Tigris: namely, the greater and lesser Zab, which the Greeks called the Wolfe and the Boar; the Diala, or Phryscus, which flows through the intermediate district, and the more southern Mendeli or Gyndes, which Cyrus, to avenge the drowning of a sacred horse, is said to have deprived of its dignity as a great river by dividing it into 360 artificial channels⁶⁹. From Aturia it conducted to Sittacene the eastern appendage of Babylonia, and from thence proceeded through a rich

SECT.
I.

⁶⁶ Polyclet apud Strabon, l. xv. p. 728.

⁶⁷ According to Xenophon, Cyrus spent seven months at Babylon; two summer months at Ecbatana in Media-Magna; and the three months of spring at Susa. Xenophon *Cyropæd.* l. viii. p. 233. But from the time of Darius Hystaspis Susa became the chief residence of the Persian kings. Mr. Larcher in his translation of Herodotus, vol. vii. p. 347. Table Geograph. says "that the Persian kings after Cyrus, spent the winter at Susa, the summer at Ecbatana, the spring at Babylon, and the autumn at Persepolis." But he does not cite his authorities, and I believe, none will be found for the residence of those kings during the autumn at Persepolis.

⁶⁸ Herodot. l. v. c. 52. & seq.

⁶⁹ Herodotus, *ibid.* Yet Cyrus, who was incomparably the best and wisest of all the Persian kings, might have better reasons for this strange undertaking. Finding the Gyndes unexpectedly swoln, and being unprovided with embarkations, he might have recourse to the labour of his great army, to make the river fordable; and the sooner to gain his end, might mark out a vast number of channels. Rennell's *Geography* of Herodotus, p. 202. Cæsar performed a similar operation on the river Sicoris in Spain. Cæsar de Bell. Civil. i. 61. This action in Cyrus, therefore, is not to be put on a footing with that of Xerxes; the third in succession from him, when he threw fetters into the Hellespont Herodot. vii.

SECT. I. plain to Susa. The whole route consumed ninety-three days, at the rate of fourteen English miles for each day's march, thus exceeding above thirteen hundred of such miles in length. There is nearly the same distance between the Choaspes which washed the walls of Susa, and the remote parallel stream of the Indus. The military progress through ancient Asia, may be supposed, therefore, to have consumed about the space of six months; but the slowest caravans far exceed the rapidity of armies, commonly travelling each day seventeen or eighteen miles.

The same road frequented immemorially by caravans.

On this occasion I mention caravans, because the roads traversed for military purposes by the Persians were according to the earliest notices in history frequented by the Assyrians, Arabians, and Indo-Scythians⁷⁰ in travelling associations for commerce. To this salutary intercourse through many parts of the Eastern continent, deserts presented difficulties, and mountains impossibilities. The halting places, therefore, and great staples by means of which only an extensive inland traffic can be carried on, were determined chiefly by the directions of Taurus and its various branches above specified. In passing through Lesser Asia, Taurus overhangs the level and easily pervious provinces of that peninsula, which were traversed as we have seen by the royal road of the Persians, and which will be shown in the progress of this history, to have been immemorially the seats of opulent commercial cities. As it advances eastward, the same mountain, surveyed from its southern sides, the once rich Assyrian plain, an uninterrupted level inferior to the peninsula in dimensions, but contiguous to the boundless deserts of Syria and Arabia. As the Syrians and Arabians, through all ages of antiquity, spoke dialects of the same language, they may be regarded as branches of one great nation. According to concurring testimonies, the Phœnicians were a colony⁷¹ from

⁷⁰ Job vi. 19. Strabo, xvi. p. 781. Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieget. v. 1088.

⁷¹ Herodotus, l. i. c. i. Conf. Genesis, c. x. v. 15. and c. xii. v. 6. in the translation of Michaelis, and

Gesner de Navigationibus extra Columnas Herculis, annexed to his edition of Orpheus, p. 424. See also a note in Larcher's Herodotus, l. i. c. i. in which he exposes on this subject the stupendous ignorance of

the Sabæan coast in Arabia, who early settled on the coast of Syria, and whose pursuits there will be found perfectly analogous to those of the peaceful Sabæans, from whom they descended. But neither the Sabæans, Phœnicians, nor Syrians, much less the industrious cultivators of the rich Babylonian plain, had any affinity in manners or in fortune with the far spread Arabian Nomades. Amidst innumerable revolutions of all around them, these Nomades have remained unalterably the same. At the dawn of history, they appear with their present characteristic features⁷³; as men with open hearts, and boiling passions, quick in apprehension, voluble in speech, with ardour to undertake great enterprises, and with a presence of mind and perseverance fitted to carry them into execution; on the whole admirably adapted to those bold commercial expeditions, which, if they deterred by the dangers of distant warfare, also transported by its hopes, and allured by its advantages. Their importance to the Assyrians, in effecting the boasted conquests of Ninus and Semiramis, will afterwards be explained: in commerce also they were early and intimately connected with Nineveh and Babylon successive capitals of Assyria; and the trade in which they were the carriers to the latter of those cities affords notices for extending the royal road just mentioned eastward to the Indus.

In order to obtain the vast quantities of Indian commodities consumed⁷³ in Babylon, the shortest route would have been conducted across the mountains of the Uxii and Cossæans, and other fierce clans, all brethren and robbers infesting the rugged frontiers between Persia and Media. It then led, as we have above seen, through Saranga and Arachosia on the frontiers of the Carmanian and Gedrosian deserts. To avoid such dangers, the Assyrian or Arabian caravans proceeded northwards through Mesopotamia, crossed the Tigris into

Whole extent of the caravan road through Asia.

Voltaire; an ignorance deforming every part of that too popular author's remarks concerning matters of ancient history.

⁷³ Schultens *Præfat. ad Monu-*

ment. *Vetust. Conf. Asiatic Researches*, and *D'Herbelot Bibliothèque Orientale Art. Arabes*.

⁷³ Ctesias *Indic. c. 21.* and Herodotus, *l. i. c. 183.*

SECT. I. Aturia, and ascending mount Zagros, penetrated into that district of Media which is distinguished by the lake Maraga. From the rich vallies of Media they issued by the Caspian gates, skirted the barren confines of Parthia and Hyrcania, and advancing still eastward, stopped short at Bactra on the Oxus, a great and immemorial emporium of Assyrian and Indian merchandise ⁷⁴. From the Oxus the intercourse was continued to the Indus, through those defiles of the Paropamisus near Cabul, which we have already described. In this latter part of the journey, the Indo-Scythians were the great carriers; hardy mountaineers inhabiting from Cabul to Cashmere, and not less remarkable for their propensity to travelling ⁷⁵, than their southern neighbours in Hindostan were distinguished by a cowardly superstition that unalterably riveted them in their native seats; from which, to the present day, they have never willingly removed.

Distribu-
tion of
Alexan-
der's garri-
sons
through
Asia.

Amidst the multiplicity of countries which have been mentioned, the handful of Greeks and Macedonians conducted by Alexander across the Hellespont, must have quickly disappeared, had not his small army been perpetually recruited from Europe, and still more powerfully reinforced by Asiatics instructed in the arts, and associated to the arms of their conquerors. The bravest and most docile of the barbarians had been intermixed, as we have seen, in due proportions amongst his European troops; they were also combined with them in far greater numbers, in the different posts and garrisons which Alexander established at proper distances ⁷⁶ for maintaining a safe communication between his conquests; for securing their internal tranquillity; and for defending them against foreign invasion. In this manner fourteen thousand Greeks (the number of Macedonians is uncertain) were dispersed through Bactria and Sogdia, to protect those half

Those on
the Seythi-
an fron-
tier.

⁷⁴ Diodor. ii. 5. Conf. Zendavesta, ii. 173. and for the causes of the wealth and splendour of Bactria, Strabo, l. ii. p. 73. and l. xi. p. 509. The same author twice mentions the *ripados*, or meeting of the three

roads, from Bactria to India. l. xi. p. 514. and l. xvi. p. 723.

⁷⁵ Elian Hist. Animal. l. iv. c. 6. Conf. Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieget. and Ptolem. Geograph.

⁷⁶ Diodor. l. xvii. sect. 83.

civilized provinces against the Scythian Nomades. With such Bactrians and Sogdians as had adopted their institutions and submitted to their discipline, the Greeks occupied the ancient strong-holds on that exposed frontier; and according to the plan which their common master had traced, erected the new city of Alexandria, now Cogent, on the deepest recess of the Jaxartes from the skirts of the northern desert⁷⁷. At the opposite extremity of agricultural Asia, Alexander adopted similar precautions against the wandering and war-like Arabs, whom, next to the Scythians, he regarded as the most formidable enemies to the happiness of his empire. For bridling their incursions, until he executed a plan which he had ably concerted for circumnavigating and subduing their peninsula, a city was built far to the south of Babylon⁷⁸, on the frontier of the Arabian desert: this nameless city was strongly fortified and amply garrisoned.

SECT.
L

His post on
the Arabian
frontier.

We have already seen the firm hold which he had taken of India, by the cities and garrisons which he had established on the Indus and its fine tributary streams. The mountainous inlets to India, on the side of Sogdia and Bactria, as well as the more level routes through Saranga and Arachosia were guarded by chains of stations a day's journey from each other⁷⁹; and were chosen with so much judgment for both commercial and military purposes, that many of them gradually assumed the ranks of cities; witness the three Alexandrias in Aria, in Arachosia, and the Paropamisus; and in their line of connexion with Babylon, either by the way of the Caspian gates, or by the frontier of the Carmanian and Gedrosian deserts, both which great routes have already been delineated, many important strong-holds must have intervened, since biographers ascribed to Alexander the foundation of no less

His posts of
communi-
cations
with India.

⁷⁷ Arrian, l. iv. c. 1. Conf. D'Anville Géograph. Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 305.

⁷⁸ Arrian, l. vii. Conf. Strabo, l. xv. p. 731.

⁷⁹ Diodorus.

SECT. I. than seventy cities in his eastern conquests⁸⁰. Of all those cities, Alexandria in Egypt, built in the vicinity of the ancient Canopus, has most illustriously transmitted to modern times the name of the conqueror. For establishing this great emporium destined to continue for eighteen centuries, the principal bond of connexion between the East and West, the only situation was selected that obviated the inconveniences of a low coast, invisible at a distance, and dangerous to a proverb when approached⁸¹. The harbours on the sea, and on the lake Mareotis; the spacious and well ventilated⁸² streets of Alexandria; and the magnificent lighthouse in the isle of Pharos, were all of them indeed completed by the first Ptolemy, the brother of Alexander; but that conqueror himself not only planned these noble undertakings, but had begun to carry them into execution; and mixing agreeably to his character, the endearments of private friendship with generous schemes of public utility, he commanded the Pharos to be adorned with a Heroum in honour of Hephæstion; that contracts between merchants and mariners might for ever commemorate the mild and manly virtues of his early, best beloved, and deeply regretted friend. Cleomenes, his intendant general in Egypt, with whom, as we shall see hereafter, there was much reason to be offended, he exhorted by letters to forward the monument to Hephæstion, declaring with his characteristic sprightliness, that activity in this particular would cancel many past transgressions, and procure indulgence for new ones⁸³. Besides this Cleomenes, a Greek, and a skilful financier, Alexander left in Egypt Pentaleon and Polemon, trusty Macedonians, respectively commanding in Memphis and Pelusium.

Forces in Macedon, Caesar Asia, and Ariana. At the western extremity of the empire, Antipater, the able minister of Philip, governed under his son as lieutenant or viceroy in Macedon; and to such peaceful subjects had the

⁸⁰ Plutarch de Fortun. Alexand. p. 327. Conf. Diodor. xvii. 83.

⁸¹ Strabo, l. xvii.

⁸² Strabo, *ibid.* p. 793.

⁸³ Arrian, l. vii. c. 23.

Greeks, Macedonians, and still more turbulent Thracians SECT. I. been reduced, that the military establishments of Antipater required only sixteen thousand foot, and five thousand horse; that is the full complement of the phalanx, attended with its essential⁸⁴ auxiliaries. On the three coasts of Lesser Asia, the generosity of Alexander had subdued the affections of the Greeks. In the interior of that Peninsula, his principal military force rendezvoused under Antigonus, in the central province of Phrygia. The wide extent of Ariana, or Persia, was committed chiefly to Peucestes and Atropates, who ruled respectively in Persis, the proper Persia, and in Media. The king in person, with many of the officers highest in his service, and an army fifty thousand strong⁸⁵, spent the last scenes of his life in Babylonia, which he had chosen⁸⁶ for the seat of an empire, of which it formed locally the centre, since at an intermediate, and nearly equal distance from its four great boundaries; the Indus, the Danube, the burning sands of Libya, and the bleak Scythian desert. After making this general muster, the parts of which naturally distribute them-
Communication between Asia and Europe.
 selves over the above explained geography of the country, I shall delay till the course of my narrative requires it, to enumerate officers commanding inferior provinces, or those intrusted with the various castles or treasuries wrested from Darius and his Satraps. These employments, important as they were, fell⁸⁷ generally to the share of subalterns, in two distinguished bodies of horse and foot, known by the technical name of *Companions*; a term of which, in the progress of this history, it will be material accurately to ascertain the import. At present, it is more necessary to remark, that by wise regulations, and an accurate survey of roads and distances, every possible facility was afforded to an uninterrupted communication among all the different garrisons in

⁸⁴ Diodorus says, 12,000 foot and 11,500 horse. He has augmented the latter at the expense of the former, as will appear, when we come to consider more particularly the

composition of Macedonian armies.

⁸⁵ Diodorus, Arrian, Curtius.

⁸⁶ Strabo, l. xv. p. 731.

⁸⁷ Arrian, Diodorus, Curtius and Plutarch.

SECT. Asia⁸⁸; and between Asia and Europe, the same secure inter-
 I. course was maintained by a fleet of three hundred gallees, commanding the narrow seas, and perpetually exchanging⁸⁹ the money and merchandise of the one continent for the men and valour of the other.

Alexander's new maxims for the government of Asia.

In all general discussions concerning Asia, the strength and distribution of armies are matters of primary importance; because in that quarter of the world, the forms of public administration have ever been chiefly military; and instead of the persuasive voice of law, the coercive arm of power, is, on every occasion, vigorously exerted for the maintenance of police, the collection of revenue, and the enforcement of what is there called justice. With all his unwearied exertions and incomparable abilities, Alexander could not have altered the natural genius of the people, or rather those acquired habits of thinking, which time and custom had indelibly impressed. The great mass of his eastern subjects, he speedily perceived was incapable of adopting, nay of understanding, the liberal institutions of his hereditary kingdom; a government not of arbitrary will, but of equitable law⁹⁰; in which all judicial trials were public, and conducted according to precise indispensable forms⁹¹; in which taxes were not to be imposed but by general consent; and according to which a loyal and martial people presumed, for the public good, to regulate the occupations, and sometimes to control even the amusements of their sovereigns⁹². Such institutions, Alexander well knew, were not calculated for the meridian of Asia. He employed, however, unremitting diligence to ingraft on the irreclaimable and barren stock of despotism, some of the coarser fruits of liberty. Under the Persian dynasty which immediately preceded him, and under the Medes who preceded the Persians, individuals of those nations, who them-

⁸⁸ *Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. 17.*
*Conf. Aristot. de Cura Rei Famili-
 aris, l. ii. p. 510, and Strabo, ii. p.*
 69.

⁸⁹ *Diodor. l. xviii. c. 15. Arrian*
and Curtius, passim.

⁹⁰ *Κατὰ νόμον διατάσσεται.* *Aristot.*
Politici

⁹¹ *Nihil potestas regum valebat,*
nisi prius valuisset auctoritas. *Cur-*
tius, l. x. c. 8.

⁹² *Curtius, l. viii. c. 6. Conf. Tit.*
Liv. xxxi. and xlv.

selves trembled at the frown of a master, governed despotically other nations, whom they scorned as their natural inferiors. In this manner the extended possessions of Asiatic monarchies formed a wide political circle, of which the dominant nation was the center, and of which the parts nearest to this center rose in respectability above the provinces more remote from it⁹³. Natives of Persis, the proper Persia, thus governed the territories in their immediate neighbourhood; and natives of these territories were employed as Satraps over countries more distant from the Persians, but on one side contiguous to themselves. Vested with this commission, they held both the sword and the purse, accountable only for their administration to Satraps nearer to Persia, while the last and nearest of these, always themselves Persians, were amenable to none but the great king or his ministers. The same national preeminence had been claimed of old by the Assyrians, and has been exercised with cruel arrogance over Asia, by all the conquering dynasties of Scythian or Saracene descent down to the present day⁹⁴. But

SECT.

I

⁹³ Herodot. l. i. c. 183 and 196, and l. iii. c. 192. Conf. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 193.

⁹⁴ So extensive in point both of time and place are Asiatic maxims, that the Tartars act towards the Chinese with the same systematic nationality. "The science of government," Lord Macartney observes, "in the eastern world is understood by those who govern, very differently from what it is in the western. When the succession of a contested kingdom in Europe is once ascertained, whether by violence or compromise, the nation returns to its pristine regularity and composure; it matters little whether a Bourbon or an Austrian fills the throne of Naples or of Spain, because the sovereign, whoever he be, then becomes a Spaniard or a Neapolitan. The policy of Asia is totally opposite. There the prince regards

the place of his nativity as an accident of mere indifference. It is not locality, but his own cast or family: it is not the country where he drew his breath, but the blood from which he sprang, it is not the drapery of the theatre, but the spirit of the drama that engages his attention, and occupies his thoughts. A series of two hundred years, under a succession of eight or ten monarchs, did not change the Mogul into a Hindoo, nor has a century and a half made Tchien Lung, a Chinese." The Tartar conqueror never loses sight for a moment of the superiority of his cast:—"his impartiality is a mere pretence:—he conducts himself at bottom with a systematic nationality." Macartney, quoted by Mr. Barrow in his China, p. 415. Comp. Staunton's Chinese Embassy, vol. ii. c. 4. To these remarks I shall add, that in

SECT. I. Alexander, the only European⁹⁶ who ever bore sway in the great central regions of the eastern continent, determined to destroy this most invidious of tyrannies, the tyranny of nations over nations, and persevered immovably in his purpose, notwithstanding the perpetual and turbulent remonstrances of his Greeks and Macedonians. The proudest of his lieutenants were compelled to respect the customs, the superstitions, the local prejudices of the vanquished⁹⁶. The ordinary affairs, whether civil or sacred of the Barbarians, were left to the management of persons appointed from their own number, and the best qualified, therefore, to direct in matters of domestic concern. The severity of government was mitigated by minute partitions of power and quick rotations of magistracy: and we can discern with wonder and regret that offices, whose union is described at other periods of time as the universal⁹⁷ bane of Asia, were clearly distinguished and unalterably separated. In Egypt and Syria, in Babylonia and Media, the functions of the financial administrator were exercised apart from those of the general and the judge; the people might occasionally be injured by persons holding distinctly those various powers, but could not be permanently oppressed by their united and dreadful springs, wound up in

reference to nations, *ἐλευθερία* in Herodotus and other correct Greek writers, signifies "the freedom of one nation from vassalage under another." Herodot. i. 95 & iii. 87. and passim. The words denoting what we call "liberty" are *ισονομία* and *ισιγορία*; words happily chosen, since the former expresses "equality of law regulating actions," and the latter "equality in the use of speech or writing," implying a perfect independence of thought.

⁹⁶ The Arabs, in allusion to this circumstance, called Alexander Dhulkarnaim, "the two horned," quod assecutus est Orientem et Occidentem. Abulpharagius Compend. Dynast. p. 96.

⁹⁶ Arrian, l. iii. c. 16. Strabo, l.

xvi. p. 738, and Joseph. Cont. Apion. Plutarch de Fortun. Alexand. compliments the pupil on this subject most unjustly at the expense of his preceptor, a calumny anticipated and refuted by Strabo, l. i. p. 67.

⁹⁷ From this union of powers, the Asiatics are said to be deprived of all security with regard to property; a security which Bernier surnamed the Mogul from his long travels in the East, rightly denominates the source of all that is "beau et bon dans la société," a language altogether different from that of his countrymen, Raynal, Diderot, &c. in the subsequent century. "Le Meum et Tuum sont les plus grands fleaux du genre humain."

one unfeeling hand, and exerted at will by one merciless arm. SECT.
I
Amidst the severest toils of war, Alexander never lost sight of the great and liberal maxims which had carefully been instilled into him. In the progress of his conquests, his discipline, without severity, was watchful. In opposition to the custom of the times, his soldiers were restrained from the license of plunder, and habituated to self-command in the moment of victory. Safety and impunity were granted to seasonable submission: his word was sacred; and his faith once plighted, was relied on as firmly by conquered enemies, as by the unsuspecting companions of his victories⁹⁸.

According to the universal report of antiquity, Alexander was of all men the most zealously and perpetually observant of his duties to the Gods. But unlike, as we shall see, to his persecuting predecessors in empire, and to his intolerant successors in Egypt and Syria, he treated the Gods of all nations as the objects not only of indulgence, but of commendable worship. If he commanded the revenues due by Ephesus to be devoted to the restoration and embellishment of its celebrated temple, he was not less attentive to repair the temples in Memphis and Babylon. In this respect he showed no partiality; and neither in the general progress of his march eastward, nor in the wide variety of his numerous excursions, did he omit any sacrifice that was due to the local divinities of the minutest district, or violate any place that was holy, or treat contemptuously any ceremony, however frivolous in itself, yet respectable in the eyes of those, among whom it had long been established. This proceeding, the object of high and exclusive panegyric among all historians and biographers, ought not to be ascribed to any peculiar excess of superstition. We know on undoubted authority, that Alexander had been taught early to entertain rational and philosophic notions of deity, and to prize the clear conviction of divine truths above his highest exploits and proudest victories⁹⁹. To account therefore for so striking a singularity in

Alexander's maxims with regard to religion.

⁹⁸ Arrian, Curtius, and Plutarch. *Alexander's Ethics, and Politics*, vol. i. p.

⁹⁹ See my translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, 35, 2d edit.

SECT.
I.
Their influence in
arts and
commerce.

his conduct, it is necessary to advert, to what will fully appear in the course of the present work, that throughout the whole of the Macedonian dominions, the local rites of religion were indissolubly connected with arts, industry, commerce, and all the best improvements of social life. From the earliest temples in Nineveh and Babylon down to the destruction by Mahomet of the Idols of Mecca, the sanctuaries of eastern superstition continued invariably the seats of trade¹⁰⁰. Even in Greece itself, as I have shown on a former occasion, the inviolable repositories of temples constituted the ordinary banks of deposit both for individuals and for states¹⁰¹. The venerable mansion of Saturn formed the principal treasury at Rome; and such is the force of imitation, that the vestibules and sacred inclosures of the temple of Jerusalem, were sordidly¹⁰² applied to purposes widely different from their pure and primitive destination, as places of prayer to the Almighty¹⁰³.

It is impossible to trace the muddy systems of polytheism to any one clear source, and would be idle nicely to discriminate between things essentially capricious; yet capricious and absurd as they are in their own nature, and fraught with many consequences prejudicial to public and private happiness, they appear, all of them, to have contained so many points of agreement, as greatly facilitated intercourse among remote, jealous, and often hostile nations. This remark might be copiously illustrated in the notices still extant concerning most of the principal emporia from the Grecian sea to the Indus. In Lesser Asia, in Assyria, and in Ariana, the threefold division above given of the great ancient continent, we shall find priestly casts or families, hereditary ministers of the Gods, bearing sway throughout each of them respectively, in all the

¹⁰⁰ Sixty idols stood in the Caaba, the ancient resort of the Sabæan merchants. Mahomet ruined trade by the profanation of this temple. Bruce's Travels, vol. v. p. 21. and Garmier Vie de Mahomet For the antiquity of the Caaba, these writers might have cited Diodorus, l.

iii. c. 44. The situation of his *ἱερόν* exactly corresponds with the Caaba at Mecca

¹⁰¹ Xenoph Anabasis, l. v. p. 355. and Cicero in Verrem, l. i. c. 19.

¹⁰² Matthew xxi. 12.

¹⁰³ Isaiah lvi. 7.

places most conspicuous for civilization and commerce: and in several cities of Lesser Asia, we shall see this sacerdotal government, subsisting in full force from the darkest antiquity down to the bright reign of Augustus, amidst innumerable convulsions and revolutions of all the states around them¹⁰⁴. Of these hierarchical establishments, however various the forms or rites, the principle or sanction had every where much sameness. This sanction depended chiefly on benefits derived from heaven through the supposed intervention of earthly viceregents¹⁰⁵: and in the countries where idolatry is said to have begun, and where it certainly flourished most vigorously, I mean Babylonia and Egypt, priestly domination was essentially connected with the kindly influences of the celestial revolutions on the regular returns of the seasons, and the indispensable operations of agriculture¹⁰⁶. Originating in an art essential to human subsistence, it extended with another preeminently conducive to actual wellbeing and future improvement. By commerce only, the scattered rays of knowledge and civility could be collected and concentrated, in cities guarded by the sanctity of temples more surely than they could be defended by the strength of walls. In those marts of superstition and traffic, fierce Nomades intermixed with peaceful artisans¹⁰⁷; through the revered authority of priests, the one class was restrained from fraud, and the other from violence; and the economy and tendency of such asylums, or privileged resorts in simpler ages, we may in some measure learn by their description in later and more corrupt times, when they still presented objects imperiously demanded by the multitude; airy ceremonies and fables to amuse the dangerous idleness of their minds, together with tempting allurements and luxuries to soothe their senses, and soften their ferocity¹⁰⁸. In Alexander's punctilious attention to local su-

SECT.
I.

¹⁰⁴ Diodorus, l. iii. c. 59. Conf. Strabo, l. xii. p. 558 & 672.

¹⁰⁵ Strabo, l. i. p. 24, & l. xvi. p. 762.

¹⁰⁶ Isocrat. Areopagit.

¹⁰⁷ Stephanus de Urb. Voc. Asia.

¹⁰⁸ Strabo, ubi supra.

SECT.
I.

perstitions we may discern therefore a perfect harmony with all the great views by which he was actuated. His veneration for imaginary gods, so universally attested, and so unanimously approved¹⁰⁹, discovers a respect still more commendable for productive and commercial industry, for safe communication and confidential intercourse, for all the arts, either of elegance or utility; in a word, for whatever in that age had a tendency to restrain the brutal passions of men, and to engage them in laudable exertions.

His revenues.

History is full of Alexander's endeavours, even during the progress of his conquests, to wean wandering and warlike shepherds from their predatory habits, and to convert them into industrious husbandmen¹¹⁰. Of his exertions to make the empire flourish in resources, there is every where abundant attestation; but none of his biographers or historians have furnished us with any notices concerning the imposition or collection of his revenues. On this subject, the only details are given as exceptions to his general system, and must be sought in the writings¹¹¹ of his preceptor, to which no one has hitherto, for this purpose, had recourse. With regard to the imposition of taxes, a saying of Alexander's is handed down, reproaching "the wasteful gardener, who, instead of picking the fruit, plucked up the plants themselves¹¹²." Yet his fleets and armies, his new cities, fortifications, and arsenals, not to mention lesser objects connected either with the defence or with the improvement of his dominions, must have required prodigious efforts of labour, and enormous disbursements of money. His revenues are vaguely estimated at three hundred thousand talents¹¹³, above fifty millions sterling; and his diligence in augmenting them was zealously seconded by his financial administrators, some of whom hop-

¹⁰⁹ Arrian, Plutarch, Diodorus, liaris, Opera, vol. ii. p. 509. edit. Strabo, and all the authors whom Du Val they cite.

¹¹⁰ Strabo, l. xi. p. 517. Pliny, l. vi. and Plutarch in Alexand.

¹¹¹ Aristot. de cura Reifami.

¹¹² Olitorem se odisse, Alexander dixit, qui radicibus excinderet olera quæ carpere debuisset.

¹¹³ Justin, l. xiii. c. 1.

ing to obtain impunity for their malversations while they gratified their master in an object so important to him, had recourse to very unwarrantable means for diving into the purses of his subjects: abuses, which doubtless affix a stain on the government under which they happened, but which, being oblique and artful, serve notwithstanding to distinguish the extortions under Alexander from the direct and frontless depredations of other Asiatic conquerors.

Among these disgraceful expedients for raising money we shall select those employed by Cleomenes, a Greek, formerly mentioned as intendant general in Egypt, one of the countries most abounding in wealth, and the most reluctant in paying contributions. Corn being the principal export of that fertile kingdom, Cleomenes obtained large sums by alternately imposing and threatening corn laws. On an occasion of pecuniary exigency, he made a progress to the nome of Thebes, whose inhabitants, he understood, worshipped the crocodile: and one of his incautious attendants being snatched away by a hungry monster of this species, Cleomenes pretended that he would ask Alexander's permission to employ his generals commanding in Egypt in a war against crocodiles, and thus make reprisals on an enemy who had visibly been the aggressor. The rich inhabitants of the Thebaid thought no price too dear to purchase impunity for their gods. At another time Cleomenes complained, that the ecclesiastical establishment of the Egyptians was too burdensome to the state, and said that he should be under the necessity of advising his master to make considerable reductions in it. The priests flocked to him with full purses to save their temples, their tithes, and great pecuniary revenues. By letters from Alexander, the same Cleomenes was desired to transfer the festivals and fairs immemorially held at the inland city Canopus, to the maritime capital Alexandria, then rising in its neighbourhood. Persons interested in the prosperity of Canopus, offered him large bribes to suspend the alteration. He accepted the money, but found pretences soon after for carrying his

SECT.
I.

The intendants, Cleomenes and Philoxenus, their cruel artifices for raising money.

SECT. I. masters's orders into execution¹¹³. Such disgraceful proceedings were not peculiar to Cleomenes. Philoxenus intendant general in Caria was equally culpable. Having proclaimed a festival to Bacchus, Philoxenus appointed the richest citizens to bear their several parts in the solemnity. To avoid the irksomeness of this tedious ceremony, the Carians purchased exemptions at a high rate. Others next to them in opulence, were then substituted to their functions: these also desired to commute their personal attendance for money; Philoxenus still persevered in appointing a new set of performers, until he thus received money from all the principal Carians, then and long afterwards a very wealthy people¹¹⁴.

Fair financial operations of Antigènes, intendant of Babylonia.

The vile expedients of Cleomenes and Philoxenus differed widely from the fair financial operations of their fellow-labourer Antigènes, intendant general in Babylonia. Antigènes imposed a tax on masters for every slave or servant employed by them, but stipulated to pay to these masters in return, the full value of every fugitive that escaped from their families or manufactories; a condition, which, in most countries of antiquity, would have proved very burdensome, (slaves, almost the only labourers, being extremely addicted to desertion,) but which was fulfilled at little cost by Antigènes, such an excellent police had he established along the highways in his province. This respectable minister also revived several of the duties or customs which anciently¹¹⁵ prevailed in the Assyrian empire, when Babylon was the seat of arts and of luxury; and, as will be explained hereafter, at once the source and the center of an extensive and multifarious commerce.

¹¹³ Aristot. *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Id. ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Id. ibid.* p. 510.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY

OF

ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION II.

Two Classes of Asiatic Conquerors. Assyrians and Egyptians, their Characteristics. Scythians, their Characteristics. Medes and Persians to be classed with barbarous Conquerors. The Babylonian Plain. Its Revolutions and successive Capitals. Authentic History of Assyria, confirmed by local Circumstances. State of Asia antecedently to the first great Monarchy. Inland communication from the Mediterranean to India. Emporia in Assyria, Ethiopia, and Egypt. Similarity of their Institutions and Government. Pursuits and Attainments of the Egyptian Priests. Their Brethren in Ethiopia. Meroe, its History and singular Theocracy. The Sabæans and Phœnicians. Three main Staples. Babylon in Assyria. Bactra in Ariana. Pessinus in Lesser Asia.

AGREEABLY to the method above prescribed, I should now proceed to examine how far, in the concerns of domestic industry, or foreign commerce, Alexander's plans were original; and how far, in such pursuits, he was guided by the examples of his precursors in empire. But to treat this subject in a manner the most satisfactory, it will be necessary, in connexion with a more circumstantial survey of favoured imperial districts, and the magnificent cities which adorned them, to review the various dynasties which had successively governed Asia, and whose transactions in peace and war, whose manners and institutions, left indelible impressions on the great ancient continent.

From the concurring testimony of sacred and profane history, it appears, that before the Macedonian invasion, two classes of conquerors had alternately held sway in the East.

SECT.
II.

Dynasties
preceding
the Macedonian.

Assyrians
and Egyptians,
their
characteristics.

SECT. II. The nations to which these conquerors belonged, are marked by wide discriminations of civility and barbarism. Antecedently to the boasted reigns of Ninus and Sesostris, the former of which began only twelve, and the latter about fourteen centuries, before the christian era, the Assyrians and Egyptians consisted chiefly of laborious husbandmen and industrious artificers, resident in cities or villages, addicted to pomp in religious worship, and so immemorably conversant with arts and letters, that, at their first appearance above the horizon of time, they should seem to have reached their highest meridian of refinement; and the farther back that we remount in their annals, their proceedings in war and peace, become proportionally the more worthy of regard¹. The stupendous monuments, besides, of both these nations, may be considered as still attesting their ancient greatness, since those of the Egyptians which remain, were, according to unquestionable authority, far surpassed and outshone² by those of the Assyrians which have perished through the slighter consistence of their materials.

Of the Scythians.

The second class of eastern conquerors is distinguished by features equally characteristic, but uniformly expressive of grossness and ignorance. Destitute of temples for their gods, and of fixed habitations for themselves, they roved with their flocks, and herbs, and tents over the wide Scythian deserts, stretching between the range of Taurus above described, and another chain of mountains twelve degrees north of it. This northern range, known under the general name of Altai, should seem, from the inhospitable savageness of the inhabitants and the country, to have been rarely visited by strangers during any age of antiquity; in after times it became the disfigured scene of Tartar and Turkish fables³; and it was first carefully surveyed by the curiosity or policy of the Russian government in the course of the last century. Com-

¹ See the first and second books of Diodorus Siculus throughout. For the extensive conquests, and the *γραφτος κυβιας*, or geographical tables, of the Egyptians, see Apollonius Rhodius Argonaut, l. iv. v. 275.

and Eustathius in Proem. ad Dionys. Perieget. p. 6.

² Herodot. l. i. c. 178.

³ D'Herbelot Bibliothéque Orientale, Article Caf.

mening with the lofty Riphæan mountains, a thousand miles due north of the Caspian, Altai prolongs its ridges to the sea-coast of Siberia, and the frightful solitudes of the Tonguses, a people so irreclaimably barbarous; that they are still governed by Shamans or wizards⁴. Within the ample region between Taurus and Altai, the elevated plains of Scythia are generally unfit for tillage, though frequently chequered with rich herbage, and have therefore been invariably inhabited by nations or clans, whose manners are pastoral, whose government is patriarchal, and whose habits are military; thus presenting in all ages the same unaltered picture of warlike barbarity, turbulent at home, and awfully formidable abroad. The descents both of Taurus and of Altai afford, in many parts, the best iron⁵, which the Scythians, at their first appearance in history, had already fashioned into swords and hatchets⁶. In giving firmness and sharpness to this metal, in converting the hair of their camels into felt for tents or for garments, and in corrupting the innocent mildness of milk into a liquor highly intoxicating⁷; those shepherds of the north displayed their highest reaches of art and ingenuity; but of their native courage and prowess there are perpetual and signal proofs in all their transactions and institutions, and in all the earliest reports concerning them. Not to mention the tradition that Asia had been thrice conquered by Scythians before the building of Nineveh, and that Ninus, the founder of that kingdom first ventured to withhold from them the tribute which they had exacted from Assyria during fifteen centuries⁸, the father of profane history records their desolating migrations southwards, six hundred and twenty-eight years before the Christian era. At that period, Cyaxares the Mede had undertaken an expedition against the Assyrian Sarac or Sardanapalus, king of Nineveh, when an irruption

SECT.
II.

Their ir-
ruptions
into South-
ern Asia;
Olymp.
xxxviii. 1.
B. C. 623.

⁴ View of the Russian Empire by Smirnov, p. 67.

Voyage en Syrie par l'Abbé Chappe Autiruche, p. 603.

⁵ Herodot. i. vii. c. 64.

⁷ Pallas, History of the Moguls, p. 133.

⁸ Justin, l. ii. c. 3. Conf. Diodor.

ii. 43. The antiquity of the Scythian conquests is greatly antedated, if the origin of the nation remounted only to the year 1510 before the Christian era; or as Herodotus says, a thousand years before Darius's Scythian expedition, Herodot. iv. 7.

SECT.
II.

of eastern Scythians into the rich Nicæan plain, the finest district in Media, recalled him to the defence of his ravaged fields and flaming villages. To this Cyaxares the Medes acknowledged themselves indebted for their military discipline, and for reducing into regular bodies of pikemen, cavalry, and archers, those shapeless unwieldy masses that had hitherto acted with tumultuary rage and by mere brute force⁹. But the improved tactics of the Medes served not to resist the perpetual torrents of Scythian horsemen that assailed them in rapid succession; and Cyaxares in danger of being overwhelmed on all sides by this desultory warfare, consented to acknowledge the Scythians for his masters by paying to them large contributions. In the space of five years, the invaders carrying their houses on their waggons, pushed their predatory colonies into Armenia, Colchis, Pontus, Cappadocia: some ravagers penetrated into Syria, particularly that division of it called Palestine, in which they occupied Bethshean, a town formerly belonging to the half tribe of Manasseh on this side the Jordan, and which thenceforward received the name of Scythopolis¹⁰. On the frontiers of the Holy Land, Psammeticus, king of Egypt, came forward, not to oppose the invasion by arms, but to divert it by submission and rich presents¹¹. By these offerings, the rage of the Scythians was appeased: slaves and booty formed the main objects of their ambition; since, being narrowed in mind by the same habits and mode of life which invigorated and enlarged their bodies, they were totally unfit to govern the conquests which their valour had achieved, and which their rapacity, for the most part, deformed and desolated; for with them the merciless havoc of war was restrained by no considerations even of interest, the naked face of their own country saving them from fear of reprisals in their grossest abuse of victory¹².

⁹ Herodot. i. 73—103. Conf. Sancti Hieron. Opera, vol. iv. Coll. 661.

¹⁰ Syncell. Chronograph. p. 214. Conf. Herodot. i. 103. & seq.

¹¹ Herodot. i. 105.

¹² Arrian has thus explained the

principle of Scythian warfare *οτι ιδιοι οικουσι ως δειμασιν περι των φιλατων*. "Having no home, they feared not harm to any of its sweet endearments." Arrian Exped. Alex. and. iv. 17.

Among the fierce natives of the desert, who on this occasion established themselves in the countries south of mount SECT.
II. Taurus, the sudden alteration in their way of life appears to have produced a correspondent change in their character. Finding themselves in possession of many conveniences and luxuries, hitherto unknown to them, they greedily embraced every new temptation to appetite, indulged the wildest caprices without shame or remorse, and passed at one fatal bound from the simplicity of childhood to the miserable voluptuousness of doting old age: a consequence inevitable whenever gross undisciplined minds are borne on too brisk a tide of deceitful prosperity. Of this rapid degeneracy, Cyaxares availed himself for destroying part of his unworthy guests, and expelling the remainder of them from Media. In several neighbouring countries, the people collectively took arms against their insolent and besotted oppressors; whose vexations, though dreadful in the villages and open country, had generally stopped short at the gates of walled cities, well provided with granaries and arsenals; and some of them possessed also of treasuries. As the Scythians had neither skill nor patience for sieges, money, by way of ransom, was readily accepted by them. Many tribes returned home richly laden with silver: others fell a prey to their own vices or the revived courage of the vanquished; and the agricultural nations of Asia were thus delivered from a scourge by which they had been afflicted upwards of twenty years¹³.

But after a short breathing-time of scarcely half that period, a new irruption from the stony girdles of Asia left more indelible marks on the southern parts of that continent. In the most venerable of all records, the Chaldean Nomades, destined to overthrow Jerusalem and Tyre, are characterized by qualities exactly appropriate to their remotest Tartar descendents¹⁴. They are the iron nation of the north, the re-

¹³ Herodotus says 28 years; others 20; the storm abated gradually. Conf. Herodot. i. 106. Sanct. Hieron. v. iv. Coll. 661.

¹⁴ The pictures given in Chere-

feddin's Life of Tamerlane, and in the life of Zingis, or Gengiscan, by Petit de la Croix, are exact copies of those drawn in Scripture, in Herodotus, in Diodorus, and in Justin.

SECT. II. — sistless rovers of the desert, whose successions of fierce cavalry are numerous as the sea's waves, and impetuous as the winds of heaven¹⁵. The slightest attention to geography shows that this impressive imagery is, as will be explained more fully hereafter, totally inapplicable to those Chaldæans who immemorially formed the sacerdotal tribe in Babylonia, and who cannot possibly be regarded as a northern people in respect of the Jews or Phœnicians. The Chaldæans of the prophets are those of whom a part was anciently called Chalybians by the Greeks from their habitual labours in iron¹⁶. They dwelt among the craggy descents from the table land of Armenia towards the Euxine sea, and cultivated there, the same trade of armourers for the supply of the western Scythians, which the Turks afterwards exercised for the service of their eastern brethren¹⁷. Their name being that of the tribe nearest to civilized nations, was extended to Scythians in general, in the same manner as the appellation of Tartars, or rather Tatars, originally denoting a small body of men, attained in later times an indefinite amplitude¹⁸, and as the name of a miserable village on the southern frontier of Siberia has expanded over the whole of that immense region¹⁹.

Frequency
of Asiatic
revolu-
tions, cause
thereof.

A lively writer cited, and approved by a learned one, ascribes the frequent revolutions in Asia to the extremes of cold and heat, which in that continent immediately touch each other, without any intervening degree of middle temperature²⁰. But consistently with the records of history, indispensable premises to such general conclusions, the vicissitudes in the eastern world may more truly be referred to the

¹⁵ Conf. Isaiah, c. xxiii. v. 13. Jeremiah i. 13. and xv. 12. Ezekiel xxvi. 3. and 7.

¹⁶ Strabo, l. xii. p. 549.

¹⁷ Conf. Strabo ubi supra, and Abulghazi Khan Histoire Genealogique des Tatars, p. ii. c. 5.

¹⁸ The Tartars formed the vanguard of the Scythian armies, and their name thus reaching the ears of

foreigners before that of any other tribe, came to be applied by strangers to the whole Scythian nation. Freret in Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions tom. xviii. p. 60.

¹⁹ Schmidt's Russische Geschichte. Feodor, 1584.

²⁰ Conf. Montesquieu Esprit des Loix, l. xvii. c. 3. and Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c. vol. ii. c. 26.

striking contrast between fierce Nomades with their warlike manners and habits, and the softened civilization in their neighbourhood of men collected in great cities, dissolved in the luxury of baths and harams. If the Scythians often descended in terror from their cold mountains, the shepherds of Arabia and Ethiopia, as we shall see presently, emerged with as successful boldness from their scorching plains. The Medes inhabiting a country more southern than Spain, held sway, during their rude pastoral state, for a century and a half in Upper Asia²¹. But corrupted by their conquests in Assyria, the Medes lost their military prowess without improving in civil wisdom²²; and thereupon submitted to Cyrus and his Persians, a people visited by a still warmer sun, but who then lived in scattered villages, subsisted chiefly by hunting and pasturage, and were commonly clothed in the skins of wild beasts²³.

Notwithstanding the boastful fictions of the modern Persians, a mingled brood of Scythians and Saracens, the purer ancient nation bearing the Persian name, including the Medes, intimately united with the Persians in government, in manners, and in language, must, according to authentic history, be classed with the barbarous conquerors of Asia in as far as concerns the pursuits either of foreign commerce or even of domestic industry. Their unskilful practice, also, in arms, as well as in arts, is attested by all their wars with Greece, circumstantially related in a former work²⁴; and the contributions of their provinces were irregular and precarious until the rapacious²⁵ reign of Darius. In the exercise of what was

SECT.
II.

The Persians to be classed with barbarous conquerors.

²¹ The Medes were encouraged to revolt from the Assyrians, 710 years before Christ, in consequence of the disasters of Senacherib's army related in Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 36. After the loss of his army "Senacherib's estate was troubled," Tobit, c. 1. v. 15. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 95. and Mos. Choronens, l. i. c. 22. Herodotus, who wrote an Assyrian History, the loss of which is infinitely to be regretted, places the foundation of the Assyrian empire

520 years before the revolt of the Medes, (l. i. c. 95.) that is, 1230 years before the Christian era.

²² Xenoph. de Institut. Cyri, l. i. passim.

²³ Herodot. l. i. c. 71. The revolt of the Persians happened 550 years before Christ; and the last Darius was murdered by Bessus 330 years before Christ.

²⁴ History of Ancient Greece.

²⁵ Herodot. l. iii. c. 89.

SECT.
II.

called government, we see on every side the tremendous power of despots with all the strength and all the weakness incident to their detestable domination²⁶; the palaces and cities in the center polluted by submissive slaves, instruments of a vile luxury, while the distant provinces were perpetually shaken by usurping satraps or rebellious vassals. The law of the Medes and Persians, "which altereth not," has been too favourably construed into a definite code of written legislation, bespeaking considerable advancement in civil policy²⁷: for indubitable evidence compels us to take the expression in its literal sense. Notwithstanding the primitive and hardy virtues of the Persians, spontaneous results of ignorance and poverty, Xenophon acknowledges with what facility they descended from the innocence of their mountains into the profligacy of Babylonian plains, and with what stubborn formality, characteristic of barbarians, they adhered to the letter, after they had long departed from the spirit of their primitive institutions²⁸. They were destitute of temples and idols²⁹, but had been taught by their magi, or priests, an awful veneration for the elements, those particularly of fire and water³⁰. This strange superstition prevented them from willingly undertaking any voyage by sea, lest they should defile its waves by the unavoidable secretions from their bodies³¹. Darius Hystaspis, a prince inimical to the magi, endeavoured, indeed, to overcome this religious scruple³². Yet of the twelve hundred ships with which his successor Xerxes invaded Greece, not one was furnished by Persia. The seaports of Syria and Lesser Asia, with the adjacent islands of Greece, supplied the whole number. This timid

²⁶ Καὶ τάλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα Πέρσικα καὶ Βαρβαρικά. Aristot. Politic. l. v. c. 11.

²⁷ In the celebrated Travels to discover the source of the Nile, vol. i. p. 449. Mr. Bruce ascribes this maxim to Nebuchadnezzar, who was neither a Mede nor a Persian. But this great traveller was not very accurately acquainted with ancient history, on some important passages of which his work, as will

appear in the sequel, throws much light.

²⁸ Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 238. & seq. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 135.

²⁹ Herodot. l. i. c. 131.

³⁰ Xenoph. ubi supra, and Herodot. l. i. c. 138. and l. iii. c. 16.

³¹ Plin. N. H. l. xxx. c. 2.

³² Herodot. l. iii. c. 70. and l. iv. c. 44.

folly was carried by the Persians to such an extravagant excess, that they never built a harbour, or city of any note, on any part of their vast coasts³³. They even destroyed those inland navigations which had antecedently been established, and succeeded in the perverse labour³⁴ of obstructing great rivers fitted to lay open the inmost recesses of Asia, and which, as we shall see in the progress of this work, both before and after the dominion of those unworthy³⁵ masters, were successfully employed for that beneficial purpose. Egypt and Babylonia, two countries, which for reasons that will afterwards appear, were the peculiar objects of Alexander's partiality, suffered under the Persians the utmost severity of persecution³⁶. Cambyses, the brutal conqueror of Egypt, in his eagerness to level every thing in that ancient kingdom before his own despotism, extinguished the whole royal lineage, and raged with intolerant fury against the priestly cast, or ancient sacerdotal families³⁷, the first authors, as will be shown, and always the main supporters of Egyptian prosperity. Persecution excited rebellion, and rebellion was punished by new aggravations of cruelty. In this manner Egypt, for the space of nearly two centuries, continued the perpetual scene of crimes and of punishments. Scarcely twenty years before the Macedonian conquest, Artaxerxes Ochus suppressed Nectenebus the last conspicuous rebel; and on this occasion fresh severities were exercised on the Egyptian priests: their temples were plundered, their lands were wrested from them; even their sacred books, the objects of such religious care, were seized in their hidden repositories, and retained by their cruel persecutors, till ransomed by large sums of money³⁸. The injuries inflicted on the Babylonians were not less outrageous. The Persians plundered their treasuries and profaned their temples³⁹, corrupted their

³³ Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 6. lence of their Moslem successors.

³⁴ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. stigmatizes their *καταπαύτας χερσιν*.

³⁵ Strabo, l. xi. p. 509. He speaks of their grossness, ignorance, and total neglect of all improvement in terms applicable to the sacred indo-

³⁶ Herodot. l. i. c. 183. 196. l. iii. c. 92. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 51.

³⁷ Herodot. l. iii. c. 1. & seq.

³⁸ Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 51.

³⁹ Herodot. l. 183.

SECT. daughters, and emasculated their sons ⁴⁰; and with tyranny
II. embittered by envy, intercepted two ancient sources of Babylonian wealth, by obstructing the navigable courses of the Euphrates and Tigris⁴¹.

Alexander scorned the examples of those conquerors.

To a prince animated by the prospect of extending commerce and diffusing arts and industry over the finest regions of the earth, the proceedings of all those conquerors whom we have named, could only present examples to be shunned. In the progress however of his expedition, Alexander used unexampled diligence in searching after the archives⁴² of the vanquished, as well as in examining with his own eyes the ancient monuments of their opulence and power⁴³. Many invaluable records collected by him, have irrecoverably perished. Yet the objects which he beheld, and the information which he received on the spot, concurring with the notices recorded by a few travellers of his own country, could not fail to raise his thoughts above the vain pomp of Ecbatana, Pasagarda and Persepolis, and to fix them on the more substantial grandeur of Babylon, Bactra, Tyre, Memphis, and Thebes, before these and other once industrious cities, were some of them a prey to the savageness of the Scythians, and others of them permanently enslaved under the painted barbarism of the Medes and Persians.

Directs his attention to the earlier transactions of the Assyrians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians. How these were recorded.

In entering upon the history of those ages of productive industry, and commercial intercourse, which must of necessity have preceded the destruction and havoc attending the foundation of empires, I might regret the scantiness of my materials, if there were not still greater reason to lament their uncertainty. The ancient glories of the Assyrians, Ethiopians and Egyptians, immemorial cultivators of the earth, and the inventors of those arts which naturally flow from the leisure and security of agricultural and settled life, were not indeed

⁴⁰ Herodot. l. i. c. 196. & l. iii. c. 92.

⁴¹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 749. The kings of Persia treated the merchants of Babylon precisely in the manner, that a merchant of London pretended ludicrously to fear lest this great commercial city might be

treated by Charles II. "The king" he was told "is very angry:" "Indeed! I fear he will take the river from us."

⁴² Strabo, l. ii. p. 69. Pliny, vi. 17. Conf. Moses Choronens, l. i. c. 7. & seq.

⁴³ Arrian, Curtius and Plutarch

abandoned either to the darkness of oblivion, or the mists of traditionary fable. Their transactions were recorded on monuments⁴⁴ of the utmost durability, but recorded in a kind of picture-writing whose characters, except in gross material objects, being essentially ambiguous, necessarily heightened in obscurity, according to the growing extent of their signification; that is to the variety or spirituality of the notions which they were employed to express. It is remarked by Herodotus, that the Egyptians wonderfully excelled in the strength of their memories⁴⁵. A prodigious compass of this faculty was requisite to grasp the wide variety of their hieroglyphics, already perplexed with such difficulties in the age of the patriarch Joseph, who governed Egypt as intendant general during the greater part of the seventeenth century before Christ, that the interpretation of sacred writing is described as one of the most important professions in the kingdom⁴⁶. It was exercised like all other employments of dignity, by the privileged or sacerdotal families, in the hands of whose degenerate descendents it always continued to remain, and was often very grossly abused; witness the impudent lies told from hieroglyphics, to the inquisitive travellers Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus⁴⁷, remote by five centuries from each other; and at the intermediate point of time between these respectable historians, the shameless fictions, given also as explanations of hieroglyphics, by Manetho and Berosus, when the translation of the books of Moses into Greek under the first Ptolemies, piqued the national vanity of those romancers, the one an Egyptian, the other a Babylonian, priest, and made them enhance beyond all bounds, the antiquity and celebrity of their respective nations. I shall not therefore venture to write, what, in the numerous authors who have copied each other on the subject,

⁴⁴ Strabo, xl. vi. p. 729. Diodor. l. i. c. 27. Herodotus, Pliny and Cassiodorus.

⁴⁵ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 77. Conf. Diodorus, iii. 4. The hieroglyphics on some single obelisks, are said to amount to four hundred. Diodorus speaks with wonder of the

μνημὸς συνδλημῆς. Diodor. *ibid.*

⁴⁶ Genesis xii. 8. The word translated "Magicians" in our bibles, Michaelis renders "Ausleger Egyptshen bilderschrift."

⁴⁷ Πολλὰ λεγόντες φιλοτιμότερον πρὶν ἀληθύτερον. Diodor. i. 29.

SECT. II. I have found it disgustingly tiresome to read, and formally repeat those incoherent and insipid fables which pass for ancient history. There would be a chance rather of shame than of satisfaction, in laboriously arranging such faithless and flimsy materials, since after much pains in selection and decoration, instead of the exploits of kings and conquerors, of men and gods, all equally the creatures of fancy, a more skilful interpretation of the record, might rightly substitute the annual vicissitudes of the Euphrates or the Nile, the periodic motions of the heavenly luminaries, the operations and implements of useful arts, Orion or a ploughshare⁴⁸.

The Babylonian plain, its revolutions and successive capitals.

The Babylonian plain, however, which comes forward in Scripture as the first great scene of national enterprise, continued to be described long after the introduction of alphabetic writing, as the finest portion of Assyria and of all Asia. At the distance of a few years from the projected tower, "whose top might reach unto heaven"⁴⁹, we find in profane history a city whose era remounts 2234 years before Christ; a date obtained from the astronomical tables sent by Alexander to Aristotle⁵⁰, and important beyond other astro-

⁴⁸ An agricultural explanation of hieroglyphics is given by Abbé Pluche in his *Histoire du Ciel*: (vol. i. p. 45 & seq. Edit. 1778,) an author, who being an advocate for religion, is most acrimoniously insulted by Voltaire, as an adversary, and treated too angrily by Warburton who needed not to have feared him as a rival. Warburton's great merit in the explanation of the origin and nature of hieroglyphics is generally and justly admired; yet he has not exhausted the subject, and I cannot reconcile all of his conclusions with the only existing authorities concerning it; viz. Herodotus, l. iii. c. 36. Diodorus, l. iii. c. 4. Porphy. in Vit. Pythagor. Clemens Alexand. V. Strom. p. 555, and a fragment of Manetho in Eusebius's Chronicle, p. 6. In this fragment, Warburton instead of *γραμ-*

μασι *ιερωγραφικα* substitutes *γραμμασι* *ιερωγραφικα*. His reason for this correction is, that *ιερωγραφικα* being always used by the ancients to denote characters of things, in opposition to alphabetic letters, or characters of words, ought not to be joined with *γραμματα* which denotes characters of words only. Because *ιερωγραφικα* always denotes characters of things, Warburton concluded that *γραμματα* always denoted characters of words. The conclusion is illogical, and contradictory to one of the passages on which our whole knowledge of the subject rests, *περι δε των Αιθιοπικων γραμματα* *των παρ Αιγυπτιας ιερωγραφικων καλεμενων*, &c. Diodorus, l. iii. c. 4. Conf. Divine Legation, b. iv. s. 4.

⁴⁹ Genesis xi. 19.

⁵⁰ Porphy. apud Simplic. in *Aristot. de Cælo*.

nomical eras, because supported by various notices and circumstances, all bearing on the same point, and powerfully cooperating to confirm it⁵¹. That Babylon was immemorially governed by Chaldeans, a sacerdotal cast or family; and that the authority of those Chaldeans was founded on their superior attainments, particularly their proficiency in astronomy, is said to have been attested by the concurring remains of Assyrian history⁵². The Greeks too, fond as they were of ascribing their scientific improvements to Egypt, acknowledge themselves indebted to the Babylonians for the pole, the gnomon, and the division of the day into twelve hours⁵³; inventions which, with others of a like practical nature, could not fail to be diffused over remote countries by a city carrying on a very extensive traffic, and whose wares found their way into Greece many ages before the war of Troy⁵⁴. Of the ingenious manufactures also, for which Babylon continued to be renowned, even under the Persian yoke, many must have remounted to a very high antiquity, since fourteen hundred and fifty years before Christ, the elegant dyes brought from Arabia were already employed in that city, when "the goodly Babylonish garment" tempted the dishonesty of Achan, and overcame his fear of the Almighty, thereby occasioning his memorable punishment in the mournful valley of Achor⁵⁵. Yet according to the manner in which ancient history is generally understood, after the first glimpses of the tower and city above mentioned, not only these important monuments, but the whole Babylonian plain disappears from our sight for the space of sixteen centuries, after which lapse of time, Babylon again commands our attention as the new capital of Assyria, upon the destruction of Nineveh, a place described in scripture nine centuries before Christ, in terms calculated to excite our utmost curiosity.

⁵¹ Seneca Nat. Quest. l. vii. c. 3.
Conf. Anatolius apud Fabric. Bib.
loth. Græc. l. iii. c. 10. p. 275.

⁵² Strabo, l. i. p. 23, and l. xvi. p.
762.

⁵³ Herodot. l. i. c. 109

⁵⁴ Ibid. l. i. c. 1.

⁵⁵ Joshua, c. vii. v. 21. Conf. 2
Samuel, c. xiii. v. 18. Strabo, l. xvi.
p. 739. and Bruce's Abyssinia, vol.
i. p. 374.

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Three hundred years after this magnificent description of Nineveh, and six hundred years before the Christian era, Babylon was enriched, peopled and enlarged by Nebuchadnezzar, even beyond the measure of Nineveh itself, that stupendous capital in which there were upwards of sixscore thousand persons, incapable of discerning between their right hand and their left⁵⁶. Is it yet possible to give an account of what happened in Babylonia in the interval of the sixteen centuries above mentioned, between its projected and unfinished tower, and the wonderful aggrandizement by Nebuchadnezzar of its most ancient city, whose era, according to the notices sent by Alexander to Aristotle, accords with the year 2234 before Christ? This question is important, for it cannot be imagined that the industry of man, equally stubborn and audacious⁵⁷, should have neglected for sixteen hundred years, a territory well known, and acknowledged to be the finest⁵⁸ portion of Asia, though fitted according to circumstances, to be the most productive of plains, or the most frightful of deserts⁵⁹. To answer this question fully and clearly, would necessarily give birth to a new history of Assyria, for a careful meditation of all the authorities on record, have forced me on conclusions different from those hitherto received, 1. Concerning the foundation and extent of the empire of Ninus; 2. Concerning the era and site of Nineveh, its first capital; and 3. Concerning the time and circumstances of its decline and downfall. In my endeavour to illustrate this very extensive subject, (for the history of Arabia and Ethiopia will be found essentially connected with that of Assyria) the surest notices of antiquity will be confirmed by reasons drawn from the unalterable dispositions of nature. I therefore request the

⁵⁶ Jonah, c. iii. v. 3. and c. iv. v. 21.

⁵⁷ Genesis, xi. 4, 6. "Let us build a city and tower whose top may reach unto heaven." The Lord said, "this the people begin to do, and now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do." Compare Horace, Ode iii. l. i.

Audax Iapeti genus
Igmem fraude mala gentibus intulit—

Again,

Nil mortalibus arduum est
Cælum ipsum petimus stultitia, &c.

⁵⁸ Herodot. l. i. c. 178. l. iii. c. 92. l. iv. c. 39. l. vii. c. 63. Conf. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. i. c. 7. and l. xvi. c. 6 an. 17.

⁵⁹ Strabo, l. xi. p. 502.

reader's attention to the following short account of the geography of Assyria. SECT.
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In its complete signification, that name comprehended Assyria, two vast tracts of territory, on opposite sides of the Euphrates, called in scripture, Aram beyond the Euphrates, and Aram on this side the river⁶⁰. To the former, the Greeks peculiarly applied the name of Assyria; to the latter, for the sake of distinction, that of Syria⁶¹. Exclusively of Aram on this side the river, Assyria contained three divisions; first Mesopotamia, an appellation which taken literally, should comprehend the space of seven hundred miles between the whole courses of the Euphrates and Tigris, from the Armenian mountains in which they rise to the Persian gulph into which, during the age of Alexander, they still continued to flow by separate channels⁶². But the name Mesopotamia was confined to the northern region, where the rivers diverge an hundred, and in some parts two hundred miles asunder, until in their course towards the sea, they contract to the nearness of twenty miles in the vicinity of Bagdad, the great modern capital. From this narrow isthmus, the second division of Assyria deriving its name Babylonia from ancient Babel, extended three hundred miles to the Persian gulph, never exceeding fourscore miles in its breadth between the rivers. The third division of Assyria was the projecting district beyond the Tigris, reaching to the foot of the Carduchian hills, and watered by the greater and lesser Zab, the Diala, and the Mendeli. From these local circumstances, this eastern district, properly named Atur, was frequently called Messenè and Adiabenè, Greek translations of Assyrian words, denoting a country, lying among rivers difficult of passage⁶³. It happened however, that the same

⁶⁰ Nehemiah, c. i. v. 7, 9. 2 Samuel, viii. 3. Conf. Herodot. ubi supra, and Arrian, l. vii. c. 7.

⁶¹ The names are thus used by Xenophon, Diodorus, Arrian, and the whole series of Greek historians. The Syrians and Assyrians, though regarded as one people from their agreement in language, in persons, and in manners (Herodot. l. vii. c. 63.) yet inhabited different sides of

the Euphrates: and as we shall see below, were first completely reduced under one empire, by Nebuchadnezzar, six centuries before Christ.

⁶² Nearchus apud Arrian, Indic. c. 40.

⁶³ Suidas in Voc. Adiaben. Conf. Stephanus de Urbibus in Voc. Messenè and Adiabenè, cum notis ad locum. Edit. Berkel.

SECT. II. term *Messenè* denoted also the narrowest part of Babylon, because that invaluable strip of land, the first scene of enterprise, and first seat of civilization, compressed and defended, as it was, by the Euphrates and Tigris, had also from immemorial antiquity been intersected near the site of the modern Bagdad by innumerable canals, several of which wore the appearance of great natural rivers⁶⁴. In their wars for three centuries with the Parthians, the Romans usually marched through the country called Atur by the natives, by themselves Aturia, and which, from the similarity of sound, they easily confounded with the more extensive name of Assyria⁶⁵. While this deception made the Romans dignify the least important division of Assyria, with a name properly applicable to the whole, the terms *Messenè* and *Adiabènè* made the Greeks under the Roman empire confound the same northern district with the central and more celebrated division, called properly Babylonia; and this conflux of errors from different sources gave birth, as will be shown presently, to strange misrepresentation of ancient history. Meanwhile it is material to remark that the Assyrians and Syrians, though they had the Euphrates throughout for their acknowledged boundary, could really communicate with each other towards their northern frontier only, where the river approaches the Mediterranean, until it is again repelled eastward by mount Amanus. Southward of this mountain, Syria extended four hundred miles along the Mediterranean coast: the mean distance of an hundred miles from the sea marked, and indelibly marks the region of fertility: all the vast intermediate space between this limit and the Euphrates is occupied by inhospitable and for the most part impenetrable deserts⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ Herodot. l. i. c. 193. Xenoph. Anab. l. ii. p. 283. Diodorus, l. ii. c. 26. Conf. Nahum, c. ii. v. 6, 8.

⁶⁵ Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. c. 28. He considers Assyria and Aturia as the same words, differently pronounced.

⁶⁶ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 749, & seq. Comp. Volney, Voyage en Syrie. These deserts were directly crossed but once by an army, that of Nebuchadnezzar, as we shall see below.

Before I proceed to relate the history of the Assyrians consistently with these unalterable distinctions in geography, it is necessary to state in few words the received opinions on the subject. It is generally said, then, that the empire of the Assyrians began before the days of Abram; that it extended over all southern Asia; that its capital was Nineveh in Atur, the eastern district beyond the Tigris; and that this capital near the site of the modern Mosul, subsisted with the empire itself thirteen hundred years from the triumphs of Ninus and Semiramis to the voluptuous reign of Sardanapalus, who was destroyed by his provincial governors, Belesys the Babylonian and Arbaces the Mede, seven hundred and forty-seven years before the Christian era⁶⁷. Not to mention that the wonderful stability of the dynasty of Ninus during the space of thirteen hundred years, is incompatible with the varied revolutions in southern Asia during all succeeding periods, and those stubborn causes above explained, from which such perpetual vicissitudes have never ceased to flow, this early, extensive, and durable monarchy is so totally inconsistent with the divided state of the ancient world, as represented in sacred and profane authors, that the great Newton and his few followers in chronology, are solicitous to reject the whole story as fictitious, and to make the era of Nineveh, as a seat of empire, begin about the same time, that other chronologers have thought fit to end it⁶⁸. According to this less extravagant system, the first great Assyrian conqueror was Pull, who appeared in that lofty character seven hundred and

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Received
notions of
Assyrian
history.

The two
Ninevehs.

⁶⁷ "The ancient empire of the Assyrians which had governed Asia for above thirteen hundred years was dissolved on the death of Sardanapalus, 747 years before Christ." Prideaux in the *Old and New Testament Connected*, b. i. p. 1. and such is the general language of historians and chronologers founded on corrupt or fabulous lists of the great kings of Asia from Ninus to Artaxerxes Mnemon. These lists were copied in that reign by Ctesias, and

from him transcribed by Castor, Eusebius, and Syncellus. They contain not a single name agreeing with that of any of the Assyrian kings mentioned in Scripture. But historical arguments, more irrefragable than discordancy of names, totally disprove them.

⁶⁸ Newton's *Chronology* followed by the authors of the *Ancient Universal History*, vol. iv. c. viii. p. 310. and vol. ix. p. 352.

SECT. seventy-one years before Christ, interposing with a strong
 II. arm in the affairs of Syria, and by the plenitude of power confirming the murderous Manakem in the usurped kingdom of Israel⁶⁹. But even this system of Newton is invalidated by the best Greek historians, and overthrown by the authority of Scripture, which describes Nineveh in the century before Pull with the same characteristic majesty in which that capital comes forward twelve hundred years before Christ in profane authors, as a city of wonderful extent, and more wonderful populousness, and the seat of a mighty monarch, whose measures of government were concerted in the council of his princes and ministers⁷⁰. That such a dominion subsisted twelve hundred years before Christ at Mosul, and uninterruptedly continued there for many following centuries is disproved by the strongest evidence. Mosul stands within a hundred miles of Zobah or Nisibis⁷¹ in northern Mesopotamia, whose kings, inconsiderable potentates, fought in the eleventh century before Christ against Saul and David kings of Israel; and were often defeated by those illustrious Hebrews. David in particular vanquished Haderezer king of Zobah, with great slaughter, stripped his servants of their golden quivers, and not satisfied with recovering his own border on the Euphrates, pursued the flying enemy homeward, and sacked the cities Betah and Berothai⁷², places of little strength but considerable commerce, since they contained, with other merchandise, vast magazines of brass⁷³, a circumstance well marking the country contiguous to Nisibis, both banks of the Tigris in that neighbourhood abounding in copper mines⁷⁴, several of which are wrought to the present

⁶⁹ 2 Kings, c. xv.

⁷⁰ Jonah, iii. 3. and iv. 11. Conf. Nahum, c. iii. v. 16. & seq. As to the characteristic circumstance respecting Nineveh, its extent of three days' journey, it will be shown hereafter that the circuit of its walls was 480 stadia, which divided by three gives 160 stadia, about 17 miles, precisely the computed days' journey among the Orientals in all ages. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 737. and Ta-

vernier, Lucas, Bernier, Jackson, &c.

⁷¹ 1 Samuel, c. xiv. v. 47. with Michaelis' notes.

⁷² 1 Samuel, c. viii. v. 3. and c. xv. v. 18.

⁷³ Id. *ibid*.

⁷⁴ Denoted by the word Medan, which gives name to many places in Armenia and Curdistan. See Jackson's Journey from India in 1797.

day, partly for exportation, and partly for supplying the manufactories of the recently populous Diarbekir⁷⁵. From the near connexion of Nisibis in locality with Mosul, it is impossible that the former of these cities should have long maintained wars with the kings of Israel without rousing into action, at least without bringing into notice, the far greater power of Mosul, if that had really been the head of a mighty empire. The great Nineveh, therefore, could not occupy the site usually assigned to it; its splendid court and powerful garrison must have belonged to a kingdom naturally secluded by the Desert above mentioned from the countries contiguous to the Mediterranean sea: nor does it appear to have interfered with those countries in war or government, until Poll, king of Assyria, quitting the pacific system which had governed most of his predecessors, conquered Nisibis or Zobah, Haran, Eden, with all the neighbouring strong-holds in Armenia or northern Mesopotamia, and thereby brought his victorious arms on the immediate frontiers of Syria⁷⁶. Of this greater Nineveh, called by the Greeks Ninus, much is said in history. It adorned the invaluable isthmus of Babylonia above described, and its position has been variously marked by the Euphrates and the Tigris, because it occupied the banks of the great canal between them⁷⁷. It was distant above four hundred miles from the fertile district of Nisibis, and secluded from it by the smaller, as from Syria by the greater desert. It was built by Ninus, the first great Assyrian conqueror, in the year twelve hundred and thirty before Christ. On the west its territories were bounded by an impenetrable ocean of sand; but to the east it subdued, and governed for the space of five centuries, Media, Bactria, Persis,

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⁷⁵ Diarbekir was, in 1756, more populous than any city in the Turkish empire, not excepting either Cairo or Constantinople. It contained 400,000 inhabitants. "But, in 1757, swarms of locusts devoured all the vegetation of the surrounding country, and occasioned a famine: an epidemic sickness followed,

which carried off 300,000 souls in the city of Diarbekir, besides those who perished in the neighbouring villages." Eton's Survey of the Turkish empire, c. vii. p. 268.

⁷⁶ 2 Kings, c. xviii. and xix. Conf. Isaiah, c. xxxvi.

⁷⁷ Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 95. and Diodor. l. ii. s. 25.

SECT. II. and other provinces of *Upper Asia*⁷⁸. The confounding of this great capital with a city of humbler fortune but much higher antiquity, has strangely perplexed the history of what is called the first great monarchy, or rather the first great empire that permanently established the dominion of nations over nations, though that dominion was much lightened and mitigated, as we shall see, under Ninyas the successor of Ninus, and seventeen pacific princes that followed him. The two Ninevehs are distinguished from each other by very clear characteristics. The first Nineveh was built by Ashur upon his removal from the plain of Shinar, and is described as less considerable than other cities in its neighbourhood⁷⁹. It stood

⁷⁸ *Ἡ ἄνω Ἀσία*, Herodot. l. i. c. 95. that is the countries east of the Euphrates; Dionysius of Halicarnassus also, *Antiq. Roman*, l. i. c. 4. thus limits the Assyrian empire in point of space. As to time Herodotus says the Assyrians governed Upper Asia 520 years before the revolt of the Medes. This revolt, as will appear fully hereafter, happened 710 years before Christ; add 520, and the foundation of the Assyrian empire will remount to the year 1230 before Christ. This date coincides with that given by Appian of Alexandria in *Proem*. c. ix. Appian says "the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians governed Asia nine hundred years." The last Darius was slain 330 years before Christ: add this to 900 and we shall again have 1230 before Christ for the era of the Assyrian empire. Herodotus' notices with respect both to the extent and the duration of that empire, are thus confirmed by two historians inferior to none in point of credit. Independently of this confirmation, his authority may safely be relied on in matters so important to him as the date and dominions of an empire of which he wrote the history. Vid. Herodot. c. i. l. 106. and 184. Herodotus's Assyrian History is alluded to by Aris-

totle in his *History of Animals*, l. viii. c. 18. In speaking of birds with crooked bills, "which never drink," the philosopher observes, that this peculiarity was unknown to Herodotus, who describes the augurial eagle as drinking, in his *Narrative of the taking of Nineveh*. In M. Camus's edition of the "*History of Animals*" now before me, he adopts the erroneous reading of "Hesiod instead of Herodotus." Was Hesiod an historian? Or, a question still more decisive, could Hesiod relate an event long posterior to his own age? I add one remark farther because it appears to me of importance. Herodotus' chronology is not only consistent with Scripture, but tends to increase our reverence for the prophecy there concerning the Assyrians 145½ years before Christ. See *Numbers*, c. xxiv. v. 22. In this passage the captivity announced under the Assyrians would be less marvellous if their dominion (as commonly said) had already subsisted many centuries over all Asia. Had that been the case, it was easy to foresee that a powerful nation would be eager to punish its rebellious vassals.

⁷⁹ *Genesis*, c. x. v. 11. and 12. in Michaelis' Translation

on the eastern bank of the Tigris three hundred miles above Babylon, at a place where the river is most conveniently crossed. Its locality is marked by Mosul, the bridge or passage, the name of a city since built on the opposite or western bank: and is still farther confirmed by great mounds of earth indicating, according to travellers of good authority⁸⁰, the remains of ancient buildings. From the convenience of passing the Tigris in its neighbourhood, this Nineveh became early a place of considerable traffic, and as a commercial city, it remained to the reign of Claudius the Roman emperor⁸¹. But Nineveh, raised and fortified by Ninus in the great Babylonian plain, was destined to a far shorter though incomparably more brilliant existence: since it was founded seven hundred years later, and was totally demolished⁸² six centuries before Christ. When the Assyrians, under Ninus, became extensive conquerors, they built, according to Asiatic maxims, this their great strong-hold and capital in the district best calculated for such prodigies of architecture and populousness as Nineveh, Babylon, and after them Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Bagdad: successive seats of empire, which, as will be explained hereafter, arose not figuratively on the ruins, but literally from the materials of each other.

Having removed geographical difficulties, founded on misconception and perpetuated through negligence, I proceed to explain the transactions of the Assyrians and of the principal nations connected with them either in war or in commerce. For the sake of greater perspicuity, and that the chronology of subsequent events may be referred to a precise and important era, I begin with the reign of Ninus. Many centuries before that conqueror, the virgin soil of Asia, new and warm from the hands of nature, is represented as teeming with men and animals⁸³. The vast central plains inviting to

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Completion of Ninus' conquests—consequences thereof.
B. C. 1230.

⁸⁰ Della Valle, Niebuhr, &c.

⁸¹ Tacitus, Annal. l. xii. c. 13. A. D. 50. His expression, *vetustissima sedes Assyriæ* are words highly applicable, but not in the sense which he intends them.

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⁸² *Ἡρανισθὴν παραχρημα*. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 737. with whom Diodorus agrees.

⁸³ Diodor. l. ii. c. 5. Conf. Genesis, c. xxvi. v. 12.

SECT. II: agriculture and a settled life, abounded with well cultivated

fields, and with populous and peaceful cities, protected by the sanctity of temples rather than guarded by the strength of walls. Both productive and commercial industry had attained a high degree of improvement; and the mode of carrying on traffic by great caravans conducted by officers of their own choice, produced that experience in travelling and that accurate knowledge of remote countries, which had a tendency to facilitate the march and subsistence of armies. In this state of things well concerted schemes of ambition were formed; and the most aspiring and wildest usurpers found instruments excellently fitted to their ends, in the fierce Nomadic tribes amidst the sands of Arabia on one side and the deserts of Scythia on the other, who not yet sufficiently powerful or populous to conquer for themselves, and only solicitous for slaves and plunder⁸⁴, were easily tempted to fight for more politic allies aiming at permanent as well as extensive conquest⁸⁵. At the head of his native subjects, reinforced by many Arab tribes under a chief named in Greek Ariæus⁸⁶, the Assyrian Ninus thus overran great part of Asia, and adopted measures for holding in subjection many cities and provinces east of the Euphrates⁸⁷, flourishing in arts and industry, and long connected in commercial intercourse with each other⁸⁸. Successful in all his undertakings, the conqueror built a city named from himself⁸⁹, in the valuable isthmus between the Euphrates and the Tigris⁹⁰, and which attained its utmost magnitude in the age of its founder⁹¹. This report is not incredible, for Ninus was accompanied to the chosen site of his new capital, by a great oriental army with many women and many servants, like

⁸⁴ Δυροὶς καὶ λαφυρῆς. Diodor. l. ii. c. 3. Conf. Herodot. l. iv. c. 17.

⁸⁵ Justin, l. i. c. 1. well marks the distinction. The Nomades contenti victoria, imperio abstinebant. Ninus the Assyrian, on the other hand, Magnitudinem quæsitæ dominationis continua possessione firmavit.

⁸⁶ Diodorus, l. ii. c. 1.

⁸⁷ Herodot. l. i. c. 95.

⁸⁸ Diodorus, *ibid.*

⁸⁹ Diodorus, l. ii. c. 11. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 737.

⁹⁰ Diodorus, l. ii. c. 3.

⁹¹ Ἐκτισε πολιν. *Ibid.* The words cannot apply to the enlargement of an old city.

Nebuchadnezzar, who afterwards enlarged Babylon to unrivalled greatness, and like the Tartar prince who in the thirteenth century erected a new city contiguous to Pekin, greatly exceeding London on its present extended scale⁹². The neighbouring strong-holds of Assyria⁹³, not excepting ancient Babylon, were drained to supply Nineveh; habitations were granted to all foreigners in the service, who wished to repose from their military labours; in a word, none were excluded from the immunities of a place destined at two remote periods, to be the residence of the two longest dynasties that ever reigned in the East, I mean the kings of the House⁹⁴ of Ninus, and the Abassides, Caliphs of Bagdad.

The district to which those capitals appertained, owed its preeminence to the two rivers by which it is watered and enriched, not principally by spontaneous inundation like that of the Nile in Egypt, but by the more stubborn means of hydraulic engines, and unceasing manual labour⁹⁵. Both the Euphrates and Tigris take their rise in the Armenian mountains, the Euphrates being formed by two main streams of which the one holds its tortuous course from the lofty northern declivity pointing to the Euxine, and the other flows directly from mount Abas, the central and highest region in Armenia. The Tigris on the contrary collects its numerous rills from those southern descents whose smaller elevation and warmer aspect occasion a speedier melting of the snows, and render the periodical swellings of that river many weeks earlier than those of the Euphrates⁹⁶. Of the two flowing boundaries inclosing Babylonia, the Tigris is the more rapid, has the loftier banks as well as the deeper bed; and in winter rolls down the greater body of water. Its preeminence is still more visible after the first thaws of spring; but as the season

⁹² Staunton's Embassy to China, vol. ii. p. 146. 4to edit.

⁹³ *Εντα δὲ βασιλευσιν ἦσαν ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ ἡμετέροι.* Diodor. l. ii. c. i.

⁹⁴ The expression sounds modern, but is as ancient as Herodotus, l. i. c. 107.

⁹⁵ Herodotus, l. i. c. 193.

⁹⁶ The Tigris swells in March and April: the Euphrates in June and July. Conf. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 7. and Foster's Geographical Dissert. on Xenophon's Expedition.

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advances and the snow begins to melt among those northern and higher mountains which feed the Euphrates, this latter stream acquires a decided superiority⁹⁷. It overflows its level banks; and its dominion over the adjacent country is confirmed by a circumstance, which, though little noticed by ancient historians, greatly contributed to that singular fertility, which, if any natural advantages could resist Tartar desolation, Persian anarchy, and Turkish tyranny, would in all ages have entitled Babylonia to boast the greatest cities in the world. For more than forty miles above the site of Bagdad, and throughout the whole territory southward to the sea, the plain between the two rivers slopes with so gradual a declivity, first from the Euphrates to the Tigris, and afterwards from the Tigris to the Euphrates, that it presents in the utmost perfection two vast hanging gardens; with the inestimable advantage in that adust climate of being easily watered by canals drawn from the higher to the lower stream. The whole of Babylonia was immemorably intersected by those artificial channels⁹⁸, varying in magnitude from rivers fit to sustain heavy vessels down to such minute streamlets as the Greeks drew along their fields for the culture of millet⁹⁹. Not only in the intermediate peninsula, but in the bordering territory beyond both rivers, the industry of man had reclaimed vast tracts of contiguous desert¹⁰⁰. Ten leagues west of the Euphrates, there are still marks of the great ancient canal, which had flowed five hundred miles in the same direction with the parent river, again to rejoin it near its wide mouth¹⁰¹. This advantage on the western side of the Eu-

⁹⁷ Strabo, c. xvi. p. 742. The Euphrates forces a passage through Taurus twelve miles in length at a place called Elegia. The wondering Pliny is on his own ground, when he describes the battle between the mountain and the river. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 24.

⁹⁸ Strabo, l. ix. p. 502. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 193.

⁹⁹ Or rather pannick, a plant of the millet kind. Xenoph. Anabasis, l.

ii. p. 283.

¹⁰⁰ Travellers from Aleppo to Bassora have long remarked ruins of cities, owing their existence to this artificial fertility. Della Valle, Ockley, Ives, &c.

¹⁰¹ Niebuhr, t. ii. p. 223. Other travellers make the canal begin at Anbar, half way between Hit and Babylon, while Edrisi, p. 197. carries it to Thapsacus, 200 miles above Hit, and 300 above Babylon.

phrates, was balanced on the east of the Tigris, by Susis, SECT.
II. or Susiana, a rich alluvial district like the Delta of Egypt, and nearly of the same magnitude. The capital, Susa, derived its name from the variety of beautiful lilies¹⁰² conspicuous among the alluring ornaments of its river, the flowery Eulæus. The antiquity of the city is lost amidst the clouds of fable; and as it stood within an hundred miles of the Persian gulph, and nearly at the equal distance of two hundred from Babylon and Ecbatana, its central situation helped to perpetuate its prosperity through a long succession of dynasties and empires. According to the Grecian mode of estimating fertility, the returns in Susiana amounted to an hundred and often two hundred fold¹⁰³. Grains of the finest sorts; dates, cotton, linen were enumerated among its products; and history despaired to reveal the immemorial establishment of those valuable manufactures in cloth of gold and damasked steel, for which it has continued famous to the latest and worst of times, when alternately a prey to Persians from Shirâz and Turks from Bassora¹⁰⁴. In a subsequent part of this work, we shall be brought back to Susis, and called to describe its rivers and geography, when it became the brilliant scene of operations between the dexterity of Eumenes and the energy of Antigonus; two of the ablest but least fortunate among Alexander's captains. It is enough at present to remark, that this flat alluvial district formed a continuation of the rich Babylonian plain, through which, in addition to other advantages, there was the utmost facility of communication by land and water.

The proper Babylonia bore away the palm of fertility from Egypt and even from Susis¹⁰⁵. In the language of Herodotus and Strabo, it restored with an increase of an hundred

¹⁰² Stephanus de Urb. in Voc. Susa, and Athenæus Deipn. l. xii. p. 513.

¹⁰³ Strabo, l. xv. p. 731.

¹⁰⁴ Edrisi, p. 122. & seq. and Otter, vol. ii. p. 50. & seq.

¹⁰⁵ Herodot. l. i. c. 193. and Strabo, c. xvi. p. 742.

SECT. II. and three hundred ¹⁰⁶ fold, all the finest kinds of grain with which it was sown, or, perhaps, planted. The leaves of wheat and barley were four fingers broad; and Herodotus is unwilling to describe the stalks of millet and sesame, lest he should incur the reproach of exaggeration. The whole country was adorned with palm trees, which presented the triple offerings of bread, honey, and wine ¹⁰⁷; fruits were in the same season succeeded by new flowers; and the soft warm soil, strongly impregnated with nitre, required only a sprinkling of water to be converted, in a few weeks, from an arid waste into a green paradise.

In materials for building, Babylonia surpassed all other countries ¹⁰⁸. It every where afforded a viscous clay, fit to be formed into the hardest bricks, either when they were baked in the furnace, or simply dried in the sun; and the naphtha or bitumen, the firmest of all cements, was found, at convenient intervals, from the eastern extremity of Susis to Hit on the Euphrates, eight days' journey above Babylon ¹⁰⁹. For the timber usually employed in carpentry, the Babylonians often substituted their native cypress without neglecting the reeds and osiers growing profusely on the marshy banks of their rivers. But the currents of those rivers would bring them seasonable supplies of the most serviceable forest trees from the thick woods in Armenia.

With men and materials at command, Ninus raised a city, which is said to have been four hundred and eighty stadia, or forty-eight miles in compass ¹¹⁰. It was built after the fashion

¹⁰⁶ Colonel Wilson says "a crop of corn in Egypt still yields on an average from 25 to 30 measures for 1; in extraordinary years the land gives a produce of 50 for 1: instances have occurred where 150 times the seed sown has been reaped. British Expedition to Egypt, p. 225.

¹⁰⁷ Strabo mentions an Oriental poem celebrating 360 uses of the palm, l. xv. p. 742.

¹⁰⁸ Herodot. l. i. c. 179. and Xenoph. Anab. l. ii. p. 282.

¹⁰⁹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743. Conf. Herodot. *ibid*.

¹¹⁰ Diodorus, l. ii. c. 3

of the greatest Asiatic cities to the present day, with spacious gardens, large reservoirs of water, and as it should seem with several wide pastures for cattle¹¹¹. But of the magnitude of Assyrian cities, and of the means by which their numerous inhabitants were subsisted at once comfortably and cheaply, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, when I come to treat of Babylon, which, though of the same circuit with Nineveh, about forty-eight British miles¹¹², was the larger city of the two; since Babylon was a regular square of twelve miles, whereas Nineveh was an oblong, measuring fifteen miles in length, and only nine miles in breadth¹¹³. It is sufficient for my present purpose to remark, that the quadrangular form of those successive capitals of Asia, their precise agreement in circuit, their straight streets, and regular symmetry, plainly indicate their common origin in the encampments of vast armies, which, as we learn from respectable authority, not only formed their models in point of architectural arrangement, but supplied one of the chief sources of their populousness¹¹⁴.

In the fulness of years and glory Ninus was succeeded, or supplanted, by his queen Semiramis, a woman whose boldness of spirit had already entitled her to share the diadem. This martial princess endeavoured to extend her empire by the conquest of India, an enterprise unfortunate, according to Greek historians¹¹⁵, but which, were Indian testimony admissible¹¹⁶, should seem to have been crowned with signal success. The whole story of Semiramis, indeed, is blended with the extravagance of fable; yet the consenting voice of

¹¹¹ Jonah.

¹¹² According to Major Rennell, 10 stadia are nearly equal to a British mile. Geography of Herodotus, p. 31.

¹¹³ Conf. Diodorus, l. ii. c. 3. and Herodotus, l. i. c. 178.

¹¹⁴ Diodor. *ibid*.

¹¹⁵ Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. speaks as if she had died before carrying her designs against India into execution.

Arrian says that she died before the object of the expedition was effected. Arrian Indica.

¹¹⁶ The poetry of the Indians, for they have no history, is said to specify on a variety of occasions the attention of their ancient princes to pay a stipulated tribute to the great kings of Assyria. See Vincent's Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, p. 60.

SECT. antiquity long celebrated her renown, confirmed, it was said,
 II. and perpetuated by everlasting monuments, extending at wide intervals over the finest regions of the East; vast mounds, lofty obelisks, stupendous mausoleums and palaces; more useful roads, canals, bridges, and emporiums.

And son
 Ninias.

Ninyas, the son of Ninus and Semiramis, strangely degenerated from both his parents in point of martial spirit. His empire, however, was held together by contrivances that indicate more refinement than is at any future time discernible in the great monarchies of the East. While the sovereign resided in his vast palace amidst beautiful gardens, or rather parks, which the Babylonians called *paradises*¹¹⁷, great bodies of soldiers encamped in the neighbouring districts. They were variously armed after the fashion of the respective provinces from which they came, and which all paid tribute to Nineveh; and they were commanded by generals in whom Ninyas or his ministers, who had bound them by good offices, could implicitly confide. When the soldiers, thus appointed and officered, had performed their annual service of guarding the court and capital, they were relieved by new levies belonging to the same provinces, which levies at the year's end, again made way for a third draught of military successors. By means of this rotation, the controlling army, though uniformly the same in its mass, as an instrument of authority, was changed too often in its parts, to become an engine of rebellion; and the security resulting from so judicious an establishment, is said to have been increased and confirmed by the minute partition of provincial power among satraps, generals, intendants, and judges¹¹⁸.

The policy and military arrangements of Ninyas were adopted, and faithfully adhered to, for the space of four cen-

¹¹⁷ The great city *Sitace*; vast; of Nineveh. Xenoph. *Anab.* l. ii. populous, with its beautiful *para-* p. 283.
*dis*es must have stood near the site ¹¹⁸ Diodorus, l. ii. c. 21

turies by a line of seventeen princes¹¹⁹, whose mild and pacific reigns leaving no tracts of blood behind them, have escaped the notice of history. At the end of that period, Pull, king of Nineveh, and the eighteenth successor of Ninyas, assumed the command of his own armies, and crossing the Euphrates, levied contributions on Syria. His son, Tiglath-Pileser, conquered Damascus, a Syrian city of great antiquity and opulence, slew its king Rezin, and carried the most distinguished portion of his subjects into captivity¹²⁰. During the same expedition, he treated with equal barbarity the Israelites beyond Jordan, consisting of the Reubenites, the Gadites, and half tribe of Manasseh; tearing many of these unhappy men from their kindred and country, and forcibly transplanting them to the banks of the Gozan¹²¹, now Ozan, a river which rising in the central parts of Media, forces its way through the mountains which divide the Medes and Caspians, descends in a full and foaming torrent to the plain of Ghilan, and through this level province flows majestically eastward in a navigable course to the great Caspian lake¹²². Nineteen years after Tiglath-Pileser's desolating expedition, his son, Shalmanezzer, invaded the territory on this side Jordan, plundered its cities, and carried with him into captivity all such Israelites as were above the condition of mere peasants, that is, all such as were in anywise distinguished by their rank in life, their spirit, or their ingenuity. Hoshea, who reigned over Israel in Samaria, followed the conqueror in chains to Nineveh, while the depopulated Samaritan cities¹²³

SECT.
II.

Transactions of the
Assyrians
to the reign
of Sena-
cherib, B. C.
712.

¹¹⁹ What follows in the text is, Josephus Antiq. l. ix. c. 13.

indeed, liable to objections. How can it be otherwise, when ancient testimonies are irreconcilable! The notices in Herodotus, Dionysius, and Appian; three most respectable historians, form the basis of my narrative; and Ctesias's accounts are adopted in as far as they are not inconsistent with this more respectable authority.

¹²⁰ 2 Kings, c. xvi. v. 9.

¹²¹ 1 Chronicles, c. v. v. 26. Conf.

¹²² Olearius and Hanway. Both travellers, passed the Gozan and its cataracts 180 miles from the Caspian.

¹²³ The cities chiefly were depopulated as containing the descriptions of persons above specified. Conf. 2 Kings, c. xvii. v. 24. and c. xxiv. v. 14. and c. xxxii. v. 11, 12. That the removal of the whole people did not take place appears from Ezra, c. iv. v. 7.

SECT. II. were planted with Assyrian colonies, particularly from the imperial district of Babylonia¹²⁴. Senacherib, who succeeded to Shalmanezzer, purposed to treat Judah, as his ancestors had done Israel, and grasped in his ambitious dreams, not only all Syria, but also Egypt and Ethiopia. In the prosecution of this bold design, he lost his great army, and thereby endangered his old hereditary dominion over the East, while he laboured to extend the recent usurpations of his family in the West. With the reign of Senacherib, we first attain the light of circumstantial and concordant history. He is the first king of Assyria mentioned in Scripture, whose name is also preserved in a Greek writer¹²⁵: and his expeditions against Judæa and Egypt are highly interesting both for their incidents and for their consequences. But to explain these incidents and consequences in a manner perspicuous and satisfactory it will be necessary for us, according to the method which I prescribed, to look back to remoter times, and to acquire, if possible, correct notions of the parties on both sides the Euphrates engaged in this memorable warfare. The commotions which began with Senacherib's disasters in Egypt and Palestine, terminated in the demolition of the great Nineveh, and the establishment of a new empire in the still greater Babylon, whose dominion, though confined by the Medes on the east, extended towards the south and west over what was destined to be the future region of Saracen or Arabian power. In effecting this revolution, scarcely less memorable than either the Macedonian or the Mahomedan conquest, many destructive invasions were made, many bloody battles were fought, and many obstinate sieges were patiently endured on one side, and perseveringly prosecuted on the other. But knowing by name only, the actors in those perturbed scenes, their exploits, however important in themselves, glide over the fancy like the shadow of a dull dream. To remedy this evil, too often experienced by students in ancient history,

¹²⁴ Josephus Antiq. x. 9.

Herodotus, l. ii. c. 141.

¹²⁵ Conf. 2 Kings, c. xviii. and

we must direct our attention to arts, manners, and institutions, and those concomitant labours of peace which furnished the materials of warfare, and which presented tempting objects of ambition, at an interval of six centuries, to the arms first of a Ninus, and then of a Nebuchadnezzar.

In the science of political economy, few questions can be safely examined apart, so intimately connected are even its minute branches. But in attempting either to estimate the actual condition of nations, or to ascertain the means likeliest to promote their future improvement and security, there is not any one object more important than their ordinary commercial intercourse. Compared in efficacy with this, even their strenuous exertions in war which many good moralists¹²⁶ have deemed necessary for sharpening the faculties of man, and thereby exalting his character, greatly sink in our regard, and lose the credit of occasional or contingent benefits, which but ill compensate their inherent and inevitable mischief. From war, that harsh mother of arts, much doubtless has been learned, and a judicious narrative of wars cannot fail to unite many scattered rays of information, not more gratifying to a liberal curiosity, than essential to the just apprehension, and therefore to the right management of national concerns. Yet commerce opens a source of instruction still more fruitful, especially when distant countries, instead of communicating feebly by their shores, were deeply penetrated by caravans from each other; and when their transactions being thus carried on in common, by vast crowds¹²⁷, lay more obvious to notice, and offered materials for history equally important and circumstantial. In this discussion, we

SECT.
II.

Transition
to the his-
tory of the
arts of
peace.

¹²⁶ Ἐκ θεῶν παρασκευαῖται τὰς πόλεις καὶ ἀνθρώπων γυγνέσθαι. Xenoph. Hellen. l. vi. p. 691. The military philosopher, Xenophon, thus thought war fated by the gods: under the lower Greek empire, the philosophical emperor Leo An. Dom. 900 upbraids the

Saracens for holding a similar doctrine. Vid. Leon. Tactica, p. 809.

¹²⁷ The troops of Tema and Sheba, or Saba, are renowned in that sacred poetry coeval with, or preceding the most ancient history. Job, c. vi. v. 19. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 781.

SECT.
II.

shall see the foundations of Asiatic opulence at the era of the first great monarchy; we shall discover the causes of that abundance, not only of necessities, but of precious and far fetched luxuries, which Ninus is said to have met with in many of his eastern conquests; we shall discern how the keen desire of foreign commodities occasioned wonderful assiduity in the manufacture of domestic produce; and we shall perceive that those countries, which, through the effect of good management, operating on a soil naturally fertile, were best provided with food, and most enriched with objects of real conveniency and use, found no difficulty in procuring the spice of India, the perfumes of Arabia, the amber of Prussia, the gold of Ethiopia, the silver of Spain, and the tin of Britain. These six great articles, which either the general consent of mankind or the wants peculiar to particular times and places rendered objects of general demand, were, according to the uniform testimony of antiquity, produced most perfectly and and most abundantly at the farthest extremities of the commercial world¹²⁸; they were stored up, however, in greatest plenty in places near to its center, and employed or consumed with most profusion in Egypt and Babylonia¹²⁹.

Commer-
cial com-
munication
through
Asia—its
high anti-
quity
proved.

That some kinds of spice, which grow only in the East Indies, were used in Egypt fifteen centuries before Christ, appears from the cinnamon and cassia¹³⁰ mixed in the holy oil, that was prepared by the Israelites soon after their delivery from Egyptian bondage. It is also well known that Adel and Yemen, two parallel districts on the western and eastern sides of the Arabian gulph, early availed themselves of the precious metals procured for their drugs, dyes, above all for their frankincense, to purchase such quantities of Indian spices, that the cities near the entrance of the Red Sea were deemed principal emporia¹³¹ of articles indispensable as antiseptics wherever the earth is deluged by periodic rains, inundated by great rivers, and even wherever the work of

¹²⁸ Herodot. l. iii. c. 106. and 114.

¹³⁰ Exodus, c. xxx. v. 23 and 24.

¹²⁹ Id. l. i. and ii. *passim*.

¹³¹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 778.

agriculture must be accompanied with irrigation. It is impossible to determine when this maritime traffic began, but easier to conjecture by whom it was carried on. From the earliest accounts of Hindostan, its natives appear to have religiously abhorred even a temporary removal from their country; neither curiosity nor interest could tempt them on remote voyages. But very different maxims prevailed among the Sabæans¹³², a people inhabiting both sides of the Red Sea, and from whom, as we have above shown, the enterprising Phœnicians were descended. It may be presumed, therefore, that the Sabæans were the chief agents in a trade peculiarly lucrative to themselves, because the spices which they imported were essentially necessary to many nations around them. But does the first transient notice of spice as an article of commerce, warrant the opinion that it was obtained solely or chiefly by sea seventeen centuries before the Christian era? At this early date, Joseph's brethren, as is well known, were decided as to the mode of exercising their unnatural barbarity, by the appearance of an Arabian caravan, "with their camels from Gilead, bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, and going to carry them down into Egypt¹³³." The balm, as well as the myrrh or ladanum, were productions from the neighbourhood of Gilead, a mountainous region enclosing the north-western districts of Palestine, since branches of Gilead extended to the Anti-Libanus¹³⁴. But the spicery named first, as the main article, was never supposed to grow in Palestine, or in Syria, or in any part of Asia on this side the Indus. By what means then had it come to Gilead, so as to be brought down from thence into Egypt? The slightest attention to geography will show that it could not have been transported from the above mentioned districts of Adel or Yemen, since, on that supposition, the Ishmael-

SECT.
II.

¹³² These are Homer's well initiated Ethiopians inhabiting the extremities of the world. *Odyss.* l. i. v. 25. *Conf. Herodot.* l. i. c. 1. and *Strabo*, l. i. p. 35.

¹³³ *Genesis*, c. xxxvii. v. 21. 25.

¹³⁴ *Galaad Montibus Libani copulatus. Hieronym.* in *Ezekiel*, l. vii. c. 18.

SECT. ites or travelling Arabs who conveyed it, must have pursued a route extravagantly circuitous¹³⁵. Had they come from Adel to Yemen, their direct road to Thebes or Memphis, and other great Egyptian cities, where the spices were to be consumed, lay on the west side of the Arabian gulph, and led through Axum, Meroe, and other Ethiopian stations or staples which will presently be described; not to mention that an article which had found its way to Adel or Yemen by shipping, would naturally have been forwarded to Egypt by the same cheap mode of conveyance. It should seem, therefore, that the spices transported thither from Gilead, seventeen centuries before the Christian era, bear testimony to an extensive communication through Asia at that early period¹³⁶. The useful intercourse of nations had taken even a wider range: the Indo-Scythians extended it to many regions beyond the Indus¹³⁷; and the Phœnicians traded with their tempting trinkets to those coasts of Europe¹³⁸ where silver, tin, or amber could be obtained in exchange. But the operations of domestic industry and foreign traffic, appear never to have been carried on with more activity than during the four centuries and a half that elapsed from the warlike Ninus to the rapacious Pull. During that long period, a peaceful succession of eighteen kings of Nineveh allowed a free and uninterrupted intercourse through the Eastern

¹³⁵ Mr. Bruce seems aware of this difficulty when he says, "For reasons not known to us the Israelites went and completed their cargoes at Gilead." Bruce's Travels, vol. v. p. 19. He maintains, however, the opinion combated in the text, but on no solid ground; for his allusion concerning the vast extent of the maritime commerce between Ethiopia and India at this early period is dispelled by a decisive passage of Strabo, l. ii. p. 115. proving that even under the Ptolemies, when navigation had attained much comparative proficiency, the maritime traffic in spices bore a small proportion to the inland. Conf. Stra-

bo ubi supra, and Bruce's Travels to discover the source of the Nile, vol. i. p. 373. and vol. v. p. 19. Quarto Edit.

¹³⁶ In Africa and parts of America far ruder than Asia in the age of Joseph, necessity produces and maintains very extensive commercial communications. See Hearne's journey, undertaken by order of the Hudson's Bay Company 1769. Conf. African Researches, and Mungo Park's Travels.

¹³⁷ Ælian Hist. Anim. l. iv. c. 6. and Ptolem. Geograph. l. i. c. 11. Conf. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perceget. v. 1080.

¹³⁸ Herodot. l. i. c. 1.

world, so that the reigns of those princes whom historians, too fond of war and bloodshed, have degraded into sluggards and voluptuaries, are precisely the worthiest of commendation in the whole endless series of Oriental dynasties¹³⁹.

Among the principal emporia or staples linked together in this commercial chain, we shall find a great uniformity of institutions and manners. The trading cities in Egypt appear to have been the first that were united under one government, and that many centuries before the reign of Ninus in Assyria. This antiquity of their monarchy the Egyptians owed not intirely to their superior civilization, but rather to the nature of their country, (the alluvions and valley of the Nile,) which, by its definite boundaries, had a tendency to fall under one sovereign power. To this state it appears to have been reduced when Abram, by command of the Almighty having removed from Ur of the Chaldees to Sichem in the district afterwards called Samaria, was driven by a famine in that neighbourhood with his household and wife Sarai into Misraim, or Egypt, a kingdom already noted for fertility in grain. The few circumstances revealed to us¹⁴⁰, are fraught with information. Egypt is governed by a sovereign of the common name of Pharaoh, a title of preeminence like that of Cæsar or Sultan, distinguishing the master of a populous and central kingdom from the petty princes around him, his roving satellites in the Syrian and Libyan deserts. As essentials of grandeur, Pharaoh had his palace and his haram with a splendid crowd of courtiers, eager to rise in place by anticipating his commands, and pampering his appetites. Abram being apprehensive that the fairness of Sarai, a native of northern Mesopotamia or Armenia, might provoke the licentious desires of the Egyptians, and expose himself to danger, concerted with his wife, that she should be described as his sister. But this device, contrived to save the life of Abram, had a tendency the more to expose the person of Sarai

¹³⁹ This will appear hereafter in examining the commerce of Tyre; a city once concentrating the pursuits of the East and West.

¹⁴⁰ Genesis, c. xii

SECT. II. to disgrace. The nobles of Pharaoh recommended her to their sovereign; she was received into the haram; and her supposed brother was, on her account, enriched with cattle and servants, if not magnificent gifts for a great king to bestow, yet most useful presents for a pastoral patriarch to receive. It would be to rob of just praise a prince discreet, even in his despotism, not to add that Pharaoh, when he discovered the beautiful Chaldæan to be Abram's wife, restored her, with a kind reproof to her husband¹⁴¹, and then dismissed both of them in safety with their attendants and effects.

Sacerdotal families in Egypt and Babylonia—their authority supported by specific localities.

The condition of Egypt, as united under one king in the time of Abram, throws back to a very remote antiquity the transactions of the Egyptians before this union, when, according to Greek historians, Elephantina, Thebes, Memphis, and other great cities were governed apart, and only connected with each other in commercial intercourse. According to the priests, indeed, in several of those cities, innumerable centuries were assigned to the dominion of the gods¹⁴², for, in the name of the gods whom they respectively worshipped, various families of priests exercised a jurisdiction revered by their subjects as a real theocracy, analogous to the theocracies¹⁴³ of Greece copiously described in my history of that country. But specific localities gave to the sacerdotal families in Egypt and Babylonia a firmer hold of the mind, and an authority more extensive and more durable, than the same descriptions of men ever enjoyed in Greece, or in any other conspicuous country of antiquity. An important passage of Isocrates, hitherto unnoticed by writers on this subject, affords the best key for unlocking the concealments of Babylonian and Egyptian policy. In a discourse fraught with manly sense, flowing in a vein of the purest Atticism, it is the remark of Isocrates, that while the Athenians sub-

¹⁴¹ "Why saidst thou she is my sister; so I might have taken her to me to wife," or better, "have brought it into my thoughts to take her." See Michaelis, Genesis, c. xii.

v. 18 and 19.

¹⁴² Herodot. l. ii. Diodor. l. i. passim.

¹⁴³ Hist. of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 2. throughout.

mitted to the natural and useful authority of the Areopagus, SECT.
 "their religious ceremonies were conducted with order and II
 propriety, on which account the influences of the heavens
 operated without confusion and without terror, uniformly
 favourable to the labouring of the ground, and the reaping of
 its fruits¹⁴⁴." In Egypt and Babylonia, the productions of the
 earth depended, as elsewhere, on the influences of the Hea-
 vens, but depended on them there, in a manner more visible
 and more striking, than in any other country that belongs to
 the subject of ancient history. When the hand of the Al-
 mighty operates slowly and with unvaried regularity, his
 actions are apt to pass unregarded, though then really the
 most sublime. But the sudden inundations of the Nile and
 Euphrates, dispensing alternately the greatest benefits and
 the greatest mischiefs, are phenomena which no indifference
 can overlook, and which no stupidity can disregard. Great,
 but without such greatness as is too vast for comprehension,
 with sufficient constancy to excite expectation, and yet with
 a degree of instability productive of anxiety and deep inter-
 est, those palpable and rapid changes on the face of nature
 could not fail to excite attention, even in the rudest minds, to
 the causes concerned in such extraordinary and momentous
 effects. But these important changes in the lower world are
 visibly connected with the vicissitudes of the seasons, and
 the revolutions of the heavenly luminaries, which luminaries
 were on this account early exalted into gods, with various
 families of priests for their vicegerents and ministers. In
 Ancient Egypt all professions were hereditary, as they still
 are in India; and in the former country, the sacerdotal
 cast had immemorially acquired such preeminence¹⁴⁵ in
 knowledge above the other casts or races, whether shepherds,
 husbandmen, artificers, or soldiers, that attainments incapa-
 ble of being measured, were therefore deemed boundless.
 The Egyptian priests had ascertained the sun's annual
 course¹⁴⁶; their year was sidereal, and regulated by Siri-

¹⁴⁴ Isocrates Areopagit. and my
 Translation of Lysias and Isocrates,
 p. 475. and seq.

¹⁴⁵ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 787.

¹⁴⁶ Exodus, c. xii. v. 2. xxiii. 16.
 xxxiv. 22.

SECT. II. us¹⁴⁷ the brightest star of heaven; and they were expert at calculating eclipses of the moon, which, from their power to foretel them, they were believed able to produce. The word in our Bibles rendered "Wizard"¹⁴⁸ literally and properly denotes a 'darkener of the moon. Can it then be matter of surprise, that those should be thought to hold much confidential intelligence with heavenly powers, who could not only predict but control their operations, and at will heighten their splendour or deepen their obscurity? Accordingly we find that sacerdotal families both in Egypt and Babylonia, had reared a fancied theocracy to be administered by themselves, on the foundations of real knowlege in astronomy, and of those imaginary supernatural sciences unalterably connected with it in the East¹⁴⁹.

Egyptian
priests—
their at-
tainments.

But the widening sphere of their activity, I speak particularly of the priests of Egypt, extended itself to all those occupations and pursuits most conducive to the improvement of society. They were not only conversant with the celestial motions, regulating the rise and inundations of the Nile; they were not only astronomers and seers, but geographers, engineers, architects, and physicians, directors of great undertakings in agriculture, and protectors through the sanctity of their temples, of that extended commerce which as the history

¹⁴⁷ The theory of Sirius was particularly connected with their rural year, as will be shown hereafter. Ptolemy has preserved an observation of the heliacal rising of Sirius on the fourth day after the summer solstice which makes the observation remount to the 2250th year before the Christian era. Petavii Uranolog. Conf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 806. and Aristot. Metaphys. l. i. c. 1. p. 806.

¹⁴⁸ Deuteronomy, c. xviii. v. 10.

¹⁴⁹ The text will be illustrated by the following incident. When Mr. Bruce arrived at Chendi, near the ancient Meroe, which will be spoken of presently, he found the people "much alarmed at a

phenomenon, which though it occurs every four years, had by some strange inadvertency, never been observed even in this serene sky. "The planet Venus appeared shining with an undiminished light all day. The people flocked to me from all quarters to know what it meant, and when they saw my telescopes and quadrant, could not be persuaded but that the star had become visible by some correspondence and intelligence with me, and for my use." Bruce's Travels, v. iv. p. 531. In China, where opinions are as unalterable as in Ethiopia, the prediction of eclipses still continues to be a powerful engine of government. Staunton's Embassy, v. ii. p. 93.

of all ages attests, necessity will often produce and maintain among remote and barbarous nations¹⁵⁰. When in the language of antiquity, Egypt passed from the jurisdiction of Gods to that of men¹⁵¹, her priests did not lose their prerogatives: they were amply endowed with lands¹⁵²; they were perpetual and indispensable counsellors to the king¹⁵³; even the extraordinary merit of Joseph must derive lustre from his marriage into the family of Potipherah¹⁵⁴ priest of On or Heliopolis; they filled the places of governors and generals as well as those of ministers and judges; in one word, they continued to perform the same functions under earthly sovereigns chosen from their own body, which they had formerly exercised in the name of their heavenly protectors¹⁵⁵.

Concerning the origin of the sacred families which acted this important part, there is so little historical information, that in the inquiry from whence they came, I shall neither entangle myself, nor have the presumption to detain my readers. The priests of Babylonia are traced with little show of reason to the Chaldeans or Chalybians, of whom we have above spoken; and the priests of Egypt have with small probability been derived from Abyssinian Troglodytes; a people; as it should seem, that must have been unalterably condemned by the baneful qualities of their soil and climate, to the same condition of wandering barbarity, in which they are actually found¹⁵⁶. But though the primitive stock of those venerated priests be unknown, history makes us acquainted with several of their branches or brethren, who preserved, as will be shown, their hereditary characteristics, down to the bright age of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

¹⁵⁰ Herodot. l. iv. c. 154 to c. 200. Comp. Mungo Park's Travels, African Researches, and Samuel Hearn's Journey with North American Indians, &c to northern ocean, anno 1769—1772, both inclusive.

¹⁵¹ Herodot. l. ii. c. 143 & 145.

¹⁵² Genesis, c. xlvii. v. 22.

¹⁵³ Exodus, c. xix. v. 6. Conf. Diodorus, l. i. c. 29. iii. c. 6. and Strabo, l. i. p. 24.

¹⁵⁴ Genesis, c. xli. v. 45.

¹⁵⁵ *Ὅτι πρὸς μὲν Αἰγύπτῳ οὐκ ἔστι βασιλῆα χωρὶς ἱερατικῆς ἀρχῆς*, &c. Plato in Politic. p. 550. Edit. Ficini. He adds, that a king not belonging to the sacerdotal cast, was a king by force only, not right: a strong proof of what is called in scripture, "the prerogatives of priests," Exodus, c. xix. v. 6.

¹⁵⁶ Bruce's *Τακνῆς*, vol. iv. p. 388.

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Their brethren in Ethiopia.

The sandy ocean of Africa contained many ancient wonders in its vast bosom, of which the greatest was Meroe, a broad island, compared in form to a shield¹⁵⁷, between the thirteenth and eighteenth degrees of north latitude, washed on its eastern and western sides respectively, by the Astaboras and the Nile¹⁵⁸. Its capital, called also Meroe, stood near the site of the modern Chendi¹⁵⁹, was immemorially a great city¹⁶⁰, and so anciently connected with Thebes in Egypt, that the citizens of those places conjointly¹⁶¹, each of which was then governed by its own magistrates, built the far famed temple of Jupiter Hammon, on a rich speck of the leopard's skin¹⁶², ten days' journey north west of Thebes, and now clearly proved to be the Oasis of Siwah¹⁶³. The Astaboras, now Takazzé, washing Meroe on the east is periodically joined by a still more eastern stream flowing from Tigré in Abyssinia, and called Marob "the obscure," because it hides itself one part of the year in the sands, afterwards emerging in the rainy season to join the Takazzé¹⁶⁴. The Nile inclosing Meroe on the west, is in like manner joined fourscore miles south of Chendi by the Astapus, a more western river, which flows from remote and unknown sources far to the south west of Abyssinia, and which as it is very deep, and preserves during the whole year an undiminished stream, deserves to be regarded as surpassing the Abyssinian Nile, both in the mass of its waters, and the length of its course¹⁶⁵. Of this river Astapus¹⁶⁶, the main component part of the Egyptian Nile, none of the inquisitive ancients were able to discover the source, and it has still concealed its head from the curiosity of the moderns¹⁶⁷.

¹⁵⁷ Diodorus, l. i. c. 33.

¹⁵⁸ Bruce's Travels, v. iv. p. 539.
Conf. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 9.

¹⁵⁹ Bruce, *ibid.* Conf. Strabo, l. ii. p. 133, and l. xvii. p. 790.

¹⁶⁰ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 29.

¹⁶¹ *Id.* l. ii. c. 42.

¹⁶² *Εἰς τὴν λεοπαρδάλινον*. Strabo, l. ii. p. 130.

¹⁶³ Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 577 & seq.

¹⁶⁴ Bruce, v. iv. p. 539.

¹⁶⁵ Conf. Bruce, v. iv. p. 516, and Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 437.

¹⁶⁶ The Astapus is called the White river; the Abyssinian Nile is called the Blue river from the comparative clearness of its waters. Bruce, vol. iv. p. 516 & 539.

¹⁶⁷ The Abyssinian sources of the Nile, which Mr. Bruce boasts of as

Encompassed by watery boundaries so interesting in history, Meroë was celebrated for its profusion of precious metals, and of gems still more precious¹⁶⁸. It abounded beyond all countries in ebony; and with this valuable wood, it abounds to the present day¹⁶⁹. In the flourishing age of the Ethiopians, it is said to have been defended by upwards of two hundred thousand soldiers, and enriched by double that number of industrious artisans¹⁷⁰. But the circumstance especially deserving regard is, that it remained a theocracy or sacerdotal government down to the learned age of Ptolemy Philadelphus, when king Ergamenes of Meroë, who had imbibed enough of Greek philosophy to liberate him from cowardly superstition, but too little to teach him either humanity or good policy, massacred¹⁷¹ the collective body of priests, ministers of the golden temple, who had long and wisely governed both prince and people. Having committed this enormity, the usurper coerced by the arm of power a nation that had been immemorially governed by the mere force of opinion¹⁷². Before a melancholy revolution eternally fatal to the prosperity of Meroë, that island may be considered as the subsisting model of a government, anciently very prevalent, and which without arms, and with few corporal punishments¹⁷³, overawed the minds of men, and concentrated their exertions, taught them to rear temples, and form sacred inclosures, haunts indeed of superstition, but seats also of industry and commerce, and which by the labours of peace adorned many parts of the ancient continent

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Meroë, its
theocracy
and ancient
splendour.

his discovery, have been described by modern missionaries: they were known to the Greeks as will be seen hereafter, in the age of the Ptolemies: and even in that of Herodotus. Vid. l. ii. c. 30, 31.

¹⁶⁸ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 821.

¹⁶⁹ Bruce, v. iii. p. 651.

¹⁷⁰ Plin. Nat. Hist. l. iv. c. 129.

¹⁷¹ Diodorus, l. iii. c. 6.

¹⁷² Diodor. *ibid.* The kings of Meroë, like the Lamas of Thibet, should seem to have been mere puppets in the hands of the priests. Ac-

cording to Diodorus, they were so completely dependent on them, that at the command of the priests, they were always ready to end their lives.

¹⁷³ *Ovri êxhois vti Cia*: When a Meroite had committed any great crime, the magistrate sent to him the symbol of death; and the guilty person retired to a private apartment, and became his own executioner. Diodorus. The Jesuits in Paraguay never exercised over their votaries such unbounded dominion.

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with great cities before the iron age of conquerors and destroyers. In a subsequent part of this work, we shall see other models of sacerdotal governments, subsisting in Lesser Asia down to the reign of Augustus.

Abyssinian
traditions
confirmed
by history
and monu-
ments.

The traditions of the Abyssinians, often of little value in themselves, are corroborated by history and monuments, when they affirm that their capital Axum, and to the south of Axum, Azab or Saba were anciently renowned for religion and traffic. Both these cities were intimately connected with Meroe, and Meroe itself stood in a similar connexion with Thebes in Egypt, since the Thebans and Meroites established conjunctly the colony of Ammonium in Libya¹⁷⁴. The historical account of this establishment, as well as the near relationship¹⁷⁵ among all those remote cities, not to mention Elephantina, This, and Memphis, is strongly attested in the uniformity of their still subsisting remains; every where that massive Egyptian style, unrivalled in solidity and durability: huge pillars of stone, roofed with long parallel beams of the same unperishing material; and these either traversed by shorter ones, or lying contiguous to each other, and thus forming stupendous blocks thirty and sometimes forty feet long¹⁷⁶. The same relationship is attested in the agreement of Ethiopian and Egyptian hieroglyphics. That mode of writing, which after the invention of alphabetic characters, came to be confined in Egypt to sacred purposes, still continued to be employed for all ordinary transactions in Ethiopia¹⁷⁷. This latter country, having preserved its ancient

¹⁷⁴ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 49.

¹⁷⁵ This relationship asserted in the Abyssinian traditions, (Bruce's Travels, v. 1. p. 408, &c.) is often alluded to in Scripture, "Great pain shall be in Ethiopia when the slain shall fall in Egypt." Ezekiel, c. xxx. v. 4. Again, "when a fire is set in Egypt, in that day shall messengers go forth through the dry waste, to make the careless [better the secure] Ethiopians afraid." Ezekiel, c. xxx. v. 9. in Michaelis' translation. Again, "the labour of Egypt, the

merchandise of Ethiopia, &c." Isaiah, c. xlv. v. 14. In describing the armour of the Ethiopians above Egypt, Herodotus says, that their arrows were pointed with a stone, instead of iron, and so hard that they employed it in carving their seals, l. vii. c. 67. Could this stone have been made use of for graving not only the Ethiopian but Egyptian obelisks?

¹⁷⁶ Conf. Pococke, p. 86 & 92. Browne's Travels, p. 19 and seq. and Bruce's Travels, v. i. p. 121 & seq.

¹⁷⁷ Diodorus, l. iii. c. 4.

the ~~ancient~~ ^{tycnic} government, also retained the ancient picture SECT.
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~~which~~ ^{waving} or symbols, which the priests of Thebes and Meroe had found highly useful, not in the affairs only of religion, but in those of common life, particularly in commerce. By casting an eye on the map of Africa, the reader will perceive that the various cities above named, form two distinct chains of staples or stations on opposite sides of the Nubian desert; one northward in the line of Elephantina, Thebes, This, and Memphis; another southward in the line of Meroe, Axum, Assab or Saba. Carriers were not wanting to connect the remotest emporia on opposite sides of the sandy ocean: the troops from Tema and Sheba, Arabian and Ethiopian Nomades, whose commercial expeditions are conspicuous in the earliest records of the east¹⁷⁸.

According to a justly celebrated Abyssinian traveller, whose information derives peculiar importance, from its agreement with that of books which had never happened to fall into his hands¹⁷⁹, the Abyssinians immemorially traded by caravans through their southern provinces, with countries abounding in gold; and it is worthy of remark, that this commerce on the eastern coast of Africa, was transacted in the same singular manner¹⁸⁰, afterwards adopted by the Carthaginians in dealing for the same metal on the coasts of the Atlantic. The arrivals of the Abyssinian caravans, and of the Carthaginian ships were equally announced by great fires; their cargoes were stowed in places which experience suggested to be the fittest for this purpose; the negroes came

¹⁷⁸ Job, c. vi. v. 19.

¹⁷⁹ This observation was formerly made by me in 1790, in a criticism on Mr. Bruce's Travels, which, though anonymous, excited some attention both at home and abroad. The Abyssinian notices concerning their golden commerce, I found confirmed by Agatharchides of Cnidus apud Photium Biblioth. Cod. ccl. This made me search for confirmations in antiquity of reports prevalent among that people: and

the fruit of my researches led into the train of thought which runs through this survey, with regard to the vast extent and high importance of commerce by caravans. The same subject has been since treated at much length, and with great ability in Mr. Heeren's work entitled, *Ideen über die Politik den Verkehr und den Handel*, &c. above cited.

¹⁸⁰ Herodot. l. iv. c. 196. Conf. Cosm. Indicopleust apud Montfane. Nov. Collect. tom. ii.

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with their gold dust and deposited such a quantity as ~~appeared~~^{and de} to be a fair price: if the foreign traders approved, at price, the gold was carried away and the merchandise left in exchange: if they thought the valuation too low, the negroes brought more gold; but never carried away the goods, until the price of them had been accepted by their foreign visitors¹⁸¹. This dumb traffic subsists between the Libyans and Ethiopians to the present day¹⁸².

Sabæa.

The countries just spoken of, Egypt, and Ethiopia above Egypt, are separated by the Red sea from Arabia, a vast triangle whose sides are formed by that sea and the Persian gulph, and whose basis is the Indian ocean. The desert regions towards its centre, might be not improperly classed with the sandy Sakara in correspondent latitudes of Africa. But in many parts nearer to the coast, and particularly at Sabæa¹⁸³ on the Red sea, and Omanum¹⁸⁴ on the Persian gulph, Arabia admits the culture of vines and of palm trees; and from participating in those ordinary benefits was naturally viewed by men, as they emerged from the gloom of the neighbouring wilderness, with a delight heightened by contrast, and described with transports stronger and more glowing than the greatest insulated beauty is able to inspire¹⁸⁵. It was called the "Happy Arabia," a name which Sabæa more particularly deserved, as the land of frankincense, an article of inestimable value among nations with whom perfumes were favourite and habitual luxuries, and which being highly prized, and extravagantly indulged in by themselves, were superstitiously consumed in vast profusion on the altars of their gods. But the culture of frankincense was not confined to Sabæa, the modern Yemen: it extended to the opposite side of the Arabian gulph, over a territory in Ethiopia now called Adel, five hundred miles in length. Adel and

¹⁸¹ Herodot. l. iv. c. 796.¹⁸² Histoire de Voyages, tom. ii. p. 294. and Shaw's Travels, vol. 1. p. 392.¹⁸³ Sabæa, on the eastern side of

the Red sea nearly corresponds to Yemen.

¹⁸⁴ The ancient name is still retained in modern Oman.¹⁸⁵ *ἡ δὲ Σαβαίων ἡδαιμονισαύη*, &c Strabo, l. xvi. p. 778.

Yemen had respective capitals known to strangers by the common appellation of Saba; which name as it prevailed in other parts¹⁸⁶, may be conjectured to signify any great staple of frankincense. This main object of ancient commerce occupied the stationary peasant in its culture, and the travelling shepherd in its transport; and so much abounded on both sides of the Red sea, that it was sometimes used by the natives for firewood¹⁸⁷.

But another article equally recommended by luxury, and demanded by imperious necessity, was wanting in both Ethiopias, as Adel and Yemen were sometimes called¹⁸⁸. This article is spice in all its different kinds, essential as a preservative against putrid maladies in all warm countries, especially those frequently laid under water, either by the natural floods of rivers, or by artificial irrigations for the purposes of tillage. Pepper was conveyed, as we have seen, from India to Egypt by caravans, as early as the age of Joseph. To obtain the same commodity by sea, the Sabæans gradually explored the coasts between the Arabian and Persian gulph; became the first navigators on the Erythræan sea, and thus rendered the two Sabas emporia for the aromatics of the coast of Malabar as well as for the spices of Taprobana or Ceylon; so that the happy Arabia in addition to its native perfumes, early breathed foreign odours of a still superior quality. The traditions of the Abyssinians concerning the high antiquity of this extensive maritime traffic, receive countenance from important notices in sacred and profane history. When Abram according to the injunction of the Almighty, migrated from northern Mesopotamia or Armenia to the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean sea, he found "the Canaanite already in the land," of whom in Scriptural language, Sidon is called "the first born;" in other words, the first colony planted by Canaanites on the Mediterranean coast. Who those Canaanites, the builders of Sidon, were, we know

¹⁸⁶ Josephus Antiq. Judaic. l. ii. c. 5.

¹⁸⁸ Vid. Michaelis ad Isaiah, c.

¹⁸⁷ Strabo, *ibid*.

xlv. v. 24.

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¹⁸⁹ Pococke Specileg. Hist. Arab.

¹⁹⁰ Schultens Præfat. ad Monument. Vetust. Arab.

¹⁹¹ Genesis, c. xlix. v. 13. which Michaelis translates, "mit schiffen bekleidet." Herodotus, l. i. c. 1. says of the Homerites or Phœnicians, that at their first settlement on the coast of the Mediterranean *ἀντίκτα πλοῖα καὶ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τῇ θάλασσῃ*, &c.

¹⁹² Herodot. l. ii. c. 163. l. iii. c. 3. Strabo, l. iii. p. 224. Diodorus, l. iv. c. 17. and Aristot. Opera, vol. i. p. 1163. Compare Gesner de navigationibus extra columnas Herculis, annexed to his edition of Orpheus, and Heeren in his Ideen, &c. above cited

¹⁹³ Genesis, c. xiv. v. 15.

were stations or emporia which all of them remounted to immemorial antiquity. It should seem, therefore, that travelling traders between Upper and Lower Asia already explored the routes which they were destined thenceforwards to pursue, and perhaps had discovered those hidden secrets of the wilderness, which enabled them boldly to plunge through the sandy ocean of Palmyra or Tadmor, a station not established, but enlarged and strengthened by Solomon¹⁹⁴, and adorned under the first successors of Alexander, with those prodigies of architectural magnificence, which, though totally unnoticed by ancient authors, clearly tell even in ruins their own story; ruins still attesting the magnitude of commerce carried on by caravans, since to that solely, Palmyra owed its opulence and splendour.

Having given a general account of the cities round the Red Sea, "works of the wonderful strength of Egypt and Ethiopia¹⁹⁵," and having surveyed also those in Assyria which in process of time became still more wonderful, it remains to speak of the marts of traffic and superstition in Ariana and the peninsula of Lesser Asia. In each of those great regions, in the midst of savage ferocity and rude barbarism, the routes of commerce were marked with opulence and elegance: great cities subsisted and flourished, protected through the influence of superstition rather than the strength of arms; under priestly magistrates "whose eye was their law and whose tongue was their oracle¹⁹⁶," warlike Nomades mixed in salutary intercourse with peaceful artisans¹⁹⁷; and on the shores of the Euxine and Caspian, as well as in the central route before described through Asia, there were many bold and useful undertakings and many indubitable

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Babylon,
Bactra, and
Pessinus,
in refer-
ence to the
three great
divisions of
Asia.

¹⁹⁴ 1 Kings, c. xix. v. 18.

¹⁹⁵ Nahum, c. iii. v. 8 and 9.

¹⁹⁶ On him their second providence
they hung,
Their law his eye, their oracle his
tongue,

He from the wond'ring furrow call'd
the food,
Taught to command the fire, control
the flood.

Essay on Man, Epist. ii.

¹⁹⁷ Stephanus de urb. Artic. Asia.

SECT. II. proofs of very high civilization¹⁹⁸. But as in history general description, how well soever it may be authenticated, never supersedes the necessity of particular and precise facts, I shall, in reference to the threefold division above given of Asia, having already spoken of Babylon in Assyria, now give some account of Bactra in Ariana, and of Pessinus in Lesser Asia.

Some account of Bactra.

Bactra is renowned in the middle ages under the name of Balch, as the capital of the warlike kingdom of Khorosan, east of the Caspian, and the seat of such sullen magnificence as was then not unfrequently displayed by Saracens and Tartars. It enjoyed earlier and fairer fame as the head¹⁹⁹ of a province dismembered from the empire of the Seleucidæ, Syrian successors of Alexander, sixty-nine years after the death of that conqueror, and two hundred and fifty-five years before the Christian era. In the preceding chapter of this work, we have seen the importance annexed by the politic not less than valiant Macedonian to the intermediate territory between Scythia and India, and the comparatively powerful garrisons which he stationed there. The Greek Theodotus, who commanded in Bactria under Antiochus Theus, threw off his allegiance to that prince, and asserted independent sovereignty. From this time forward, Bactria, in the rank of a kingdom, subsisted an hundred and twenty-nine years until the Grecian dynasty was swept away by a resistless torrent of Scythians, flowing from the confines of China into the countries on this side the Iaxartes²⁰⁰. Before this sad catas-

¹⁹⁸ The enterprise, ascribed by Greek mythologists to the Argonauts, of opening a passage for the stagnant waters of the Araxes and thereby gaining a fine plain and a free navigation to the Caspian, indicates intelligence as well as boldness. Strabo, l. xi. p. 53. The immemorial linen manufactory of the Colchians was considered as a proof of their Egyptian descent. Herodot. l. ii. c. 105. Conf. Strabo, l. xi. p. 498. They were a commercial colony established by the

Egyptians on the Euxine.

¹⁹⁹ Justin, l. xli. c. 4. and Strabo, l. xi. p. 516. and l. xv. p. 686.

²⁰⁰ Strabo, l. xi. p. 511. De Guignes Mem. sur la Bactriane in Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. vol. xlii. 8vo edit. The French academician who derived his notice of the subversion of the Greek kingdom of Bactria from Chinese history, did not know that Strabo's account of that matter perfectly coincided with the annals of China

trophe, Bactra acquired under Theodotus, and enjoyed under his five Grecian successors a high degree of splendour as the capital of Ariana, and the commercial rendezvous of nations. Its enterprising traders made themselves masters of various strong-holds in India, and particularly of Pattala, an emporium built, as we have seen, by Alexander at the apex of the Indian Delta; they carried on an extensive and advantageous intercourse with what was then called the kingdom of the Greeks, comprehending Assyria, Syria, and many provinces in Lesser Asia; while their own crowded markets were frequented by powerful caravans from Scythia and India²⁰¹.

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By the brighter lines of comparatively modern history, it seemed fit to restore the dim features of Bactra as it appears on the remote eastern horizon twelve hundred and thirty years before the Christian era. At that early period, this city long flourishing as it is represented in arts and industry, formed one of the most important²⁰² conquests of Ninus and his Assyrians, when with the assistance of Arabian Nomades, they established the first great monarchy. Before this era of war and desolation, Bactra is celebrated in the uniform traditions of Asia²⁰³ and Europe as the seat of science as well as of commerce, governed by Zoroaster, whom some writers call a king, others a high priest; doubtless because he united both characters; and to whom all authors of any credit ascribe preeminent power, while they concur in assigning to him the most venerable antiquity²⁰⁴. His name might be assumed

²⁰¹ Strabo ubi supra, and Bayer de Histor. Reg. Græc. Bactrian.

²⁰² Diodorus, l. ii. c. 6. and Justin, l. i. c. 1.

²⁰³ The historians of Persia make the foundation of Balk, the city of Zoroaster, remount to the year 3209 before Christ. Conf. D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. Article Balk, and Bailli Astronomie Ancienne, p. 354. This is the oldest astronomical era of any, since that of the Indian monarchy corresponds with the year 3101 before Christ: that of China with the year 2952; and that of both

Egypt and Chaldaea with the year 2800. I have no faith in history founded solely on astronomy, whose phenomena may by calculation be extended indefinitely backward as well as forward. My purpose is answered by showing that with regard to the antiquity of Bactra, the traditions of the Orientals concur with better sources of information.

²⁰⁴ See the authorities collected by Stanley Oriental Philosophy; by Fabricus Bibliothec. Græc. l. i. c. 36. p. 243. and in Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 19.

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at various times by different teachers among the fire worshippers, or magi, for this kind of superstition spread from Bactria to Media, and from thence to Persia; it might in particular be usurped by an impostor in the time of Darius Hystaspis, who is said in the wild romances of modern Persia to have reformed the religion of his country, and to have first taught the Persians to worship in temples. But such fables are totally unworthy of regard, since we have the decisive authority of Xenophon, who had viewed the Persians, not merely with the eye of a soldier, that their religion remained the same and unaltered³⁰⁵ from the age of Cyrus, founder of their dynasty: a cloud of witnesses also attest that the Persians neither worshipped in temples nor ever erected such edifices during the existence of their empire³⁰⁶; and the practice of temple worship they should seem to have adopted slowly and reluctantly in their humiliated state through the persuasion or authority of their Grecian conquerors. With the Persian Zerdusht we are not in this early part of history in any manner concerned: but in the Bactrian Zoroaster, whose name bears a reference³⁰⁷ to his proficiency in astronomy, we recognise a faithful agreement with the picture above given of the Babylonian and Egyptian priesthood: the same attainments in knowledge, and the same application of them; for the maintenance, indeed, of his own authority, but also to the conspicuous benefit of those over whom it was exercised³⁰⁸.

and of Pessinus.

The same rank which Bactra held in Ariana, Pessinus appears to have early acquired in Lesser Asia³⁰⁹. Pessinus stood in the finest plain of Phrygia, which was anciently the most important as well as largest province in that peninsula. It was washed by the river Sangarius, and in the near vici-

³⁰⁵ Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 204. and p. 238. & seq.

³⁰⁶ Herodot. l. i. c. 131. Cicero de Leg. l. ii. c. 10. Dinon. apud Clemen. Alexand. in Protrept. p. 56.

³⁰⁷ Diogen. Laert. in Proem. and Suidas ad Voc.

³⁰⁸ Hermipp. apud Arnob. ad.

vers. Gent. Conf. Strabo, l. i. p. 24.

³⁰⁹ Pessinuntem ipsum, sedem domiciliumque matris Deorum: quam reges omnes qui Asiam Europamque tenuerunt, semper summa religione coluerunt. Cicero pro Sextio.

nity of the castle and palace of Gordium, revered for its mysterious knot involving the fate of Asia, and which had remained for upwards of a thousand years untied, when it was finally cut by the sword of Alexander²¹⁰. Pessinus was thus situate in a district of high celebrity, and on the great caravan road which we formerly traced through the smooth and central division of the Asiatic peninsula. This road in approaching the sea coast split into three branches, leading into Mysia, Lydia, and Caria; small but important provinces, which shone in arts and industry many ages before their winding shores were occupied by Grecian colonies. From Lydia, then called Mæonia, Pelops carried into Greece his golden treasures, the source of power²¹¹ to his family in the peninsula to which he communicated the name of Peloponnesus. To the Lydians and Carians, many inventions are ascribed bespeaking much ingenuity and early civilization²¹². The coast of Mysia was embraced by the venerable kingdom of Priam, the Hellespontian Phrygia; and the more inland Phrygians who were said to have colonized that maritime district, pretended on grounds, some of them solid, and others extremely frivolous²¹³, to vie in antiquity with the Egyptians themselves. The three nations of Phrygians, Lydians, and Carians were intimately connected with each other by the community of religious rites as well as by the ties of blood and language. They accordingly exhibited a striking uniformity in manners and pursuits, which, to a reader conversant with Roman history, may be described most briefly by observing that the principal features of their character are faithfully delineated in the effeminacy, ingenuity, and pompous vanity of the Tuscans, a kindred people, and their reputed descendants²¹⁴.

²¹⁰ Arrian, *Exped. Alexand.* l. i. c. 59.

²¹¹ Thucydides, l. i. p. 6.

²¹² Herodotus, l. i. c. 94. and 171.

²¹³ Herodot. *ibid.* Conf. Timo-

theus apud Arnob. *advers. Gent.* l. v. and Lucretius *de Natur. Deor.* l. ii. v. 612. & seq.

²¹⁴ Herodot. l. i.

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These industrious and polished but unwarlike inhabitants on the coast of the Ægean were connected by many links with Upper Asia, but particularly by Pessinus, the ancient capital of the Phrygian kings²¹⁵, and at the same time the first and principal sanctuary in those parts of the mother of the gods, thence called the Pessinuntian²¹⁶ Goddess, and more frequently the Idæan Mother, Cybele, Berecynthia, Dindymenê, names all of them derived from her long established worship on neighbouring mountains. The festivals of Cybele are selected in poetical description²¹⁷ as among the most showy and magnificent in paganism: and both the commerce and the superstition of Pessinus continued to flourish in vigour even down to the reign of Augustus²¹⁸. But in his age the ministers of the divinity, though they still continued magistrates of the city, had exceedingly declined in opulence and power²¹⁹; and instead of being independent sovereigns with considerable revenues, might be described in modern language in a work less grave than history, as a sort of prince bishops, vassals and mere creatures of Rome. To the west of Pessinus, the city Morena in Mysia, and to the east of it, Morimena, Zela, and Comana in the great central province of Cappadocia, exhibited institutions exactly similar²²⁰ to each other, and all nearly resembling those of the Phrygian capital. In the Augustan age, all those cities still continued to be governed by sacerdotal families, to which they had been subject from *immemorial*²²¹ *antiquity*: they all stood on the great caravan road through Lesser Asia; and in all of them the terms marked by festivals and

²¹⁵ Diodor. l. iii. c. 59. Amm. Marcellin. l. xxi.

²¹⁶ Εκ τῆ πεισιντος ἀγαλμματος. Herodian, l. c. 25. Of that statue, or rather symbol, which descended from heaven, Livy speaks, l. xxix. c. 10, 11. B. C. 205. It was to the Romans then hovering over Asia, what the Gordian knot had been to Alexander: and a religious piece of machinery as easily overthrown by them.

²¹⁷ Qualis Berecinthia mater Invehitur curru Phrygiæ turrita per urbes. Eneid. vi. 785.

And Lucretius, l. ii. v. 623. Horrificæ fertur divinz matris imago, &c.

²¹⁸ Strabo, l. xii. p. 574.

²¹⁹ Id. ibid.

²²⁰ Strabo, l. xi. p. 537. and l. xii. p. 559.

²²¹ Strabo loc. citat. & l. xiv. p. 672.

processions, were also distinguished by great fairs, not only frequented by neighbouring nations, but also numerous-
 attended by traders from Upper Asia, and even by distant²²² Nomades. Conformably with these circumstances in their favour, the routes of commerce traced a clear and distinct line of civilization and wealth, thus visibly contrasted with the rudeness and poverty of many remote parts of the peninsula; with the savageness of the Isaurians and Pisidians; with the half-barbarous Bithynians and Paphlagonians²²³; in a word, with all those divisions of the country, which lay beyond the genial influence of commerce introduced and upheld by superstition, and superstition enriched, embellished, and confirmed by the traffic, which it protected and extended.

²²² Strabo loc. cit. and Stephanus de Urb. voc. *Asia*.

²²³ The transactions of all the nations in Lesser Asia, barbarous as

well as civilized, are related in the following work in connexion with the general history of the empire.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION III.

Reasons for entering into a more particular Account of the Arts. These best exemplified among the Egyptians and Phœnicians: I. With regard to the Augmentation and Improvement of the Articles of Food. II. The Composition and Embellishment of the Articles of Raiment. III. The Means of procuring solid and secure Habitations. Egyptian Architecture: I. Temples. II. Mausolea. The Labyrinth and Tomb of Osymandyas. III. Obelisks. IV. Pyramids. Reign of Sesostris. Different Races in Egypt. Senacherib's Invasion. State of Judæa and Egypt at that period. Greatness of Tarako, the Ethiopian. Destruction of the Assyrian Army. Revolt of the Assyrian Provinces. Nineveh demolished by Cyaxares and Nebopolassar. Babylon the new Capital of Assyria. Jealousy of Necos King of Egypt. He gains the battle of Megiddo. Invades Mesopotamia, and garrisons Circesium. Nebuchadnezzar associated in Government with his Father Nebopolassar. He forms an engine of Defence and glorious Victory. Battle of Circesium.

SECT. III. THE operations of commerce described in the preceding section, being carried on by crowded caravans, are more open to observation, than the highest efforts of industry and ingenuity in such useful or agreeable arts as are commonly exercised in the privacy of domestic retirement. When the productions, indeed, of these arts remain in a tolerably perfect state, they recount impressively their own history; and turn our attention with delight to the energies of those noble

Reasons for entering into a more particular account of the arts.

minds by which they were contrived and created. But when the destructive hand of time has reduced the works to ruins, their authors will be robbed of due praise; and the nations which nursed and cherished them, will be divested of those characteristic preeminences, independently of which, their wars, victories or defeats, can never become a matter of serious and deep interest with posterity. But here it is the duty of the historian to interpose his utmost diligence, in collecting all the scattered notices on record, with regard to whatever forms the object of ingenious contrivance or commendable pursuit. From this more intimate acquaintance with remote nations, attention will be awakened to their concerns: we shall take part in their prosperity and in their glory; real sympathy will be excited for their sufferings; and our fancies being thus prepared for the scenes exhibited to view, will invest with form, and adorn with colouring, the meagre and shapeless skeletons that in the page of ancient history, too often rattle their dry bones in harmless conflicts of unheeded warfare. The discussions into which it will be necessary for this purpose to enter, are essential also to my main design of surveying distinctly the various countries, which, after submitting to the valour of Alexander, were to become the objects of his enlightened policy; and with regard to some of which, his plans were partially adopted by his immediate successors.

In connexion with the rise of Nineveh, and the magnificence of that first great capital of Asia, I had occasion to speak of the high-minded Ninus and Semiramis, with their mixed army of Assyrians and Arabians. But in the revolution which undermined the power of Nineveh, and caused it to be finally supplanted by Babylon, the city chosen¹ by Alexander for the head of his empire, all those eastern nations appear with conspicuous effect, that deserve celebrity either by their prowess or their wisdom. It will be necessary in particular to make known Senacherib the Assyrian, and Tarako the Ethiopian; Belesys the Babylonian, and Arba-

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Nations
concerned
in the revolution by
which
Babylon
supplanted
Nineveh.

¹ Strabo, l. xv. p. 731.

SECT. ces the Mede; (whose supposed transactions will be shown
III. exactly to accord with those ascribed on better authority to Nebopolassar and Cyaxarès;) in fine I shall have to introduce Necoos the enterprising king of Egypt, and Nebuchadnezzar the more powerful and more renowned king of Babylon. In opposition to the erroneous notions concerning the extent of the ancient Assyrian empire, this king of Babylon will appear to have been the first prince beyond the Euphrates, who consolidated his dominion over Aram on this side the river; that is the Proper Syria. The same conqueror, as is well known, gained Jerusalem after a siege of eighteen months, and dragged its inhabitants into captivity; he also overcame after a siege of thirteen years, and totally demolished the great commercial city of Tyre on the continent, a place infinitely surpassing in magnitude and importance insular Tyre, which succeeded to its name, and which, in the page of history, commonly usurps its renown.

Arts cultivated by these nations best exemplified among the Egyptians and Phœnicians.

In prosecuting the vast subject before me, I shall begin with the Egyptians and Phœnicians, concerning whose institutions and inventions, there are details equally respectable for their authenticity, and interesting by their copiousness. Both nations were dreadful sufferers in the conflict that established a new empire, and raised up a new capital in Asia: both survived their disasters, and became in the hands of Alexander, principal agents in effecting his noblest and most useful purposes. Egypt, besides, under the brother of that conqueror, the first Ptolemy, acquired and long maintained a decided preeminence among all the new Greek kingdoms erected in the East. The regular and connected annals of Egypt, will be embodied in subsequent parts of the present work: the observations which immediately follow are of a preparatory nature, affording a succinct view of the antiquities of a country, of which, as a Greek kingdom, I shall endeavour to present a clear and complete history.

Intimate connexion formed be-

When the transactions of Egypt first connect themselves with those of Greece, the inheritance of the Pharaohs had

fallen into the hands of twelve petty princes, who like the Beys of modern times, combated each other, and distracted their common country. About the middle of the seventh century before Christ, Psammetichus, one of the twelve, was enabled through the assistance of Greek pirates, Ionians and Carians, to crush his competitors, and to assume undivided sovereignty². Having conquered Egypt by Greeks, the gratitude of Psammetichus conspired with good policy, towards establishing his benefactors in camps endowed with lands, on the Pelusiac or eastern branch of the Nile; from which settlement their descendants removed about a century afterwards to the capital Memphis, that they might serve as body³ guards to king Amasis, another illustrious usurper. From the time of Psammetichus, but especially in the forty four years of Amasis's reign, the Greeks and Egyptians maintained a closer intimacy with each other, than ever prevailed between any two nations of antiquity, that stood not decidedly in the endearing relations of metropolis and colony. The youths of Egypt were taught the Greek tongue⁴; commerce was industriously cultivated between the two countries; and in perpetual succession of time, the philosophers Pythagoras and Plato⁵, the historians Hecatzæus⁶ and Herodotus⁷, with many intervening travellers as studious of knowledge⁸ as their trading fellow citizens were greedy after gain, visited the venerable mother of inventions and of arts, and endeavoured to disrobe the concealed majesty of religious and civil wisdom, for which the Egyptians had been renowned from the first dawn of tradition. Before entering however under such guides, the palaces and temples and factories of Thebes and Memphis, and from connexions that will afterwards appear more clearly, those of Axum, Saba, Nineveh, Bactra, and many other remote cities, it will be prudent to carry with us lights

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III.

tween
Egypt and
Greece.
Olymp.
xxx. 1. B.
C. 660.

² Herodot. l. ii. c. 151, 152.

³ Ibid. l. ii. c. 178 & seq.

⁴ Id. ibid.

⁵ Diogen. Laert. in Pythagor. and Platon, and Strabo, l. xviii. p. 806.

⁶ Hecatzæus was a great traveller,

and had probably collected the fruits of his travels in the *περιγῶραι* *Αἰτίας* mentioned by Stephanus Byzant. de Urb. Voc. *Αἰαίγης*.

⁷ Herodot. l. ii. c. 43.

⁸ Diodorus, l. 1. s. 96.

SECT. from a more hallowed shrine, to dispel the dark vapour of
III. illusion with which we might otherwise be surrounded.

State of
Egypt as il-
lustrated in
the story of
Joseph. B.
C. 1728—
1635.

Two centuries after the journey of Abram into Egypt, of which we have already spoken, the simple story of Joseph exhibits an impressive model of true virtue, beyond any that ever was created by all the richness of fancy. The lovely frankness, it is well known, of the young shepherd, instead of conciliating and riveting, as it ought to have done, the affections of his brethren, provoked their jealousy and hatred, and subjected him to the misery of being sold to an Arabian caravan, carrying spices into Egypt⁹. Through extraordinary endowments bestowed on him by the Almighty, the unhappy slave who had been purchased for twenty shekels of silver¹⁰, was raised to offices and honours that clearly characterize the authority of grand vizier, already introduced it should seem, into this eastern monarchy. Pharaoh surrounded his neck with a golden chain as a badge of dignity, arrayed his body with vestures of fine linen, adorned his hand with his own ring or signet, and made him ride in a chariot appropriate to the man next in place to the king, and who in effect exercised the whole kingly power¹¹. In the officers also of the royal household, particularly the captain of the royal guards, intrusted at the same time with the criminal jurisdiction, we perceive the still prevalent and unalterable customs of the East; though the slow punishment of a slave for the imputed enormity of insulting his master's wife, indicates a degree of forbearance and caution, a faint ray of civilization, long extinct in all those unhappy countries. Through the whole narrative, there are not any indications of the profusion of precious metals ascribed by profane writers to Egypt at a somewhat later period¹². The small price paid for the person of Joseph, his

⁹ Genesis, c. xxxvii.

¹⁰ The ordinary shekel is valued at half a crown; that in the time of Joseph is thought to have been of less weight Michaelis Anmerk. Genesis, c. xlv. v. 22.

¹¹ The man who is the Lord of the land spoke roughly to us. Genesis, c. xlii. v. 30. In 1 Maccab. c. ii. v. 53, Joseph is called *κύριος τῆς Αἰγύπτου*.

¹² Diodorus Siculus, l. i. sect. 49 & seq.

single cup of silver, and the three hundred pieces of that metal, which the dispenser of royal munificence bestowed on his beloved Benjamin, affords reason to infer, that the golden treasures of Ethiopia had not yet been ransacked with very successful diligence¹³, and that the Phœnicians had not yet diffused in great abundance the silver of Tarshish or Tartessus over the eastern world¹⁴.

The transactions of Abram and Joseph afford a glimpse of Egypt as united at very early periods, under one great monarchy; but the third and most important view of that country in scripture, is given at the era of Hebrew deliverance from Egyptian bondage. The children of Israel had been reduced into that wretched condition under the dynasty of shepherds, accumulated hordes of Ethiopian Nomades, who had invaded and conquered Egypt at a period¹⁵ between the age of Joseph and that of Moses. In this revolution we find every thing conformable with the ordinary current of oriental transactions. It was, and has always continued the perpetual misfortune of civilized communities in that division of the world, never to have attained a proficiency in arms, or adopted a style of warfare qualifying men resident in cities, and cultivating sedentary arts, steadily and successfully to resist the occasional irruptions of neighbouring Nomades; whose uneducated chiefs could never distinguish between the proper use, and the grossest abuse of wealth, and to whom therefore the conquest of flourishing cities, only supplied the means of exasperating, by the irritations of voluptuousness, their precipitate forwardness and native ferocity. Under a prince of this character, known by the common appellation of Pharaoh or Sultan, the Hebrews were subject to the cruelest and most capricious vexations. In the fertile triangle stretching from Heliopolis, its summit near the site of the modern

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Revolution in the interval between Joseph and Moses—and state of Egypt at the era of Jewish emigration. B. C. 1491.

¹³ Agatharchides de Mari Rubro apud Phot. Biblioth. p. 1339 & seq.

¹⁴ Aristot. de Mirabil. Opera, tom. i. p. 1163. Conf. 1 Maccab. c. viii. v. 3. and Diodorus, l. v. s. 35.

¹⁵ Conf. Exodus, c. i. v. 8. and

Herodotus, l. ii. c. 160. The new king "who knew not Joseph," nor his merits towards the Egyptian nation, well accords with the notices in profane history, concerning the king of a new dynasty.

SECT. **III.** **Cairo**, towards the Mediterranean on one side, and the Red Sea on the other, the small tribe of Hebrews containing in it only sixty eight males, had grown to a nation of two millions and a half of souls¹⁶, since the fighting men alone amounted to six hundred thousand, or according to a nicer computation, to six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty persons¹⁷. To prevent or reduce this dangerous and growing population, for the Hebrews were shepherds and soldiers, Pharaoh tasked them with hard labour; he condemned them to provide materials for his vast buildings; and many of them were employed in rearing new and stronger walls round Pithom and Raamses¹⁸, ancient fortresses containing the royal magazines. Another still viler expedient of which the tyrant made use to intercept the formidable populousness of the Israelites, was, his cruel order to the midwives to destroy their infant males¹⁹; a transaction as usually understood, wearing an air of improbability, yet on a nearer examination, entirely consistent with the customs and institutions of the Egyptians, represented with much uniformity by authors who differ perpetually and widely about their chronology and history. In ancient Egypt, medicine in general, and several of its branches were distinct and hereditary professions, exercised under precise and severe regulations, for the observance of which by their substitutes, the heads of its different departments were amenable to the magistrates²⁰. This explanation will remove our surprise that Pharaoh should have addressed only two midwives, as if these could have sufficed for so great a nation; and it gives a natural turn to their excuse for not executing the king's atrocious orders, namely, that the Hebrew women being livelier than the

¹⁶ The Israelites inhabited the "best of the land." Genesis, c. xlvii. v. 6. that is the fittest for pasturage: in which district the Consul Maillet (*Descript. de l'Egypte*) says, "the grass grows to the height of a man, and so thick that an ox may

feed a whole day lying on the ground."

¹⁷ Conf. Exodus, c. xii. v. 37. and Numbers, c. i. v. 46.

¹⁸ Exodus, c. i. v. 11.

¹⁹ Id. c. i. v. 15 & seq.

²⁰ Aristot. *Politic.* l. iii. c. 2. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 65.

Egyptian, were delivered without the usual intervention of public functionaries ²¹. The extraordinary interpositions of the Almighty, which blasted all the designs of this detestable tyrant, are recorded in that history, with which from our youth we are most familiar. But it is worthy of remark, that of the wonderful phenomenon which enabled the Israelites to pass the Red Sea in safety, the memory is preserved in a pagan historian, who authenticates it by reference to a different source of information, even that of the actual inhabitants of the district ²². It must also be observed, that Pharaoh's army which perished in that sea in his furious pursuit, consisted of chariots and horsemen; because horsemen in the sense of cavalry, were not used by the Greeks till eight centuries after this period, that is five centuries after the war of Troy; and both cavalry and chariots ceased in process of time to be employed by the Egyptians, in consequence of the perpetual intersections of their country by canals, which rendered such sorts of troops altogether unserviceable ²³.

The minute intersections of the Delta, doubtless contributed in Egypt towards agricultural and commercial prosperity. Yet at the era of the Jewish emigration, wonderful exertions had already been made, both for multiplying the necessaries of life at home, and for procuring its accommodations from abroad. In treating of the attainments and enjoyments of the Egyptians, I shall consider the three main articles of food, clothing, and habitation. The last of these will lead me to their ornamental architecture; and this, again, will be found intimately connected with all their noblest discoveries in the arts and sciences. I begin, as necessity requires, with a brief survey of the country.

From the mouths of the Nile and the Mediterranean, Egypt extended in length five hundred and thirty miles to Syenè and the tropic of Cancer, comprehending in its breadth the mountains on both sides the river, as far as the Red Sea

²¹ Δαμνύροι.

and Exodus, c. xix.

²² Conf. Diodorus, l. iii. sec. 40.

²³ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 108.

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on the right, and the sands of Libya on the left. In its utmost dimensions the country falls far short of Great Britain; yet, before it was ravaged successively by the kings of Nineveh and Babylon, and permanently oppressed by the civil and religious persecution of Cambyses and his Persian successors, its populousness may be fairly estimated at eight millions of industrious inhabitants²⁴. To the ancient Cercasorum, a place situate somewhat below the modern Cairo, the Nile flowed in an unbroken stream, then dividing itself into three principal branches, the two outermost of which infold the triangle of Lower Egypt, the fertile Delta. The Apex of the triangle at Cercasorum²⁵, is distant a hundred miles from its base, the waving coast of the Mediterranean; and the sides are the Pelusiac and Canopic branches of the Nile, whose mouths are two hundred miles asunder. Anciently the whole of the Delta was richly cultivated; but tillage is now confined to the inmost district, and to the valley of the Nile, a long strip of land reaching to Syenè, generally about twenty miles broad, overflowed yearly by the river, and enriched by its fattening slime²⁶. Homer is thought to have pointed to the cause of this annual inundation, when he characterizes the Nile as a river fed by the showers of heaven²⁷. Under the Sixth Ptolemy, surnamed Philometor, Agatharchides of Cnidus surveyed Ethiopia above Egypt with the eye of a philosopher, and confirmed the authority of Homer, by describing the incessant rains in Ethiopia from the summer solstice to the autumnal equinox²⁸. As early as May, torrents often descend from the Abyssinian mountains, swelling all the rivers of which the Nile is the common receptacle. Their influence reaches Egypt in the middle of June, when the

²⁴ Josephus de Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 26. Conf. Diodor. l. i.

²⁵ Herodot. l. ii. c. 15. and 17.

²⁶ Strabo is never more graphical than in his description of Egypt, l. xvii. p. 786. Compare the moderns, Maillet, Pococke, Browne. The last named traveller seems inclined to limit too much the extent of the an-

nual floods. Browne's Travels, p. 352.

²⁷ Odyss. l. iv. v. 581. as explained by Aristotle in Strabo, l. xvii. p. 790. Conf. Aristot. Meteorol. l. i. c. 14. and Apollonius Lexicon Homer. voc. *ἰαριτός*.

²⁸ Agatharchides apud Diodor. l. i. s. 97.

waters visibly accumulate, and towards the beginning of August overflow their banks. From the middle of August to the end of October, the Delta wears the appearance of a great lake, its numerous cities peering²⁹ at intervals above the watery surface, like the Cyclades and Sporades in the broad Ægean.

The depositions from this temporary lake form so rich a mould, that the husbandman is exempted from all the more laborious operations of agriculture. Instead of ploughing and harrowing the ground, his industry needs only be exerted on the softer element of water; which being diverted by canals, or scooped by machines, is equally and easily distributed over the adjacent country³⁰. In Egypt the grain sown in the beginning of November ripens in less than five months, and is generally cut down and deposited in granaries before the first of April³¹. During the same season pulse follows grains, and fruits are succeeded by new flowers. In seconding the liberality of nature, man was industrious; and the duty of agricultural industry was enforced by various maxims of religion, particularly the sacred execration denounced against shepherds³², those tigers as we have seen in war, but drones and sluggards in peace. Tillage as well as other momentous concerns continued immemorially under the priestly families, who had of old taught their subjects to drain the marshy Delta, since the smaller mouths of the Nile long bore evident marks of the patient labour which had been necessary to open and defend them³³. The building of Memphis is ascribed to Menes, the first individual who, himself a priest, concentrated³⁴ in his own hands the whole priestly authority, which

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III.

Agriculture of the Egyptians.
B. C. 1490.

²⁹ Herodot. l. ii. c. 97.

³⁰ D'Anville in his *Egypte Ancienne et Moderne*, p. 23, &c. computes the cultivable land of Egypt at 2,100 square leagues. The land really in tillage does not now exceed twice that number of square miles: yet the Delta alone contains about 10,000 square miles, and was anciently in a state of the highest cultivation. So dreadfully has Egypt

been afflicted by tyranny and anarchy.

³¹ Plin. N. H. l. xviii. c. 37. Conf. Maillet *Description de l'Egypte*, et *Relation de Paul Lucas*.

³² Genesis, c. xliii. v. 32. and c. xli. v. 34.

³³ Aristot. *Meteorol.* l. i. c. 14. All the smaller branches of the Nile, he says, were *χτιστοίματα*.

³⁴ Herodot. l. ii. c. 4. and 99.

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he should seem, however, to have exercised in conformity to the will of his former equals and brethren. From the time of Menes, Memphis continued to be the seat of the Pharaohs; and from the site of that city, near the top of the Delta, its foundation must have been accompanied with contrivances for regulating the Nile's inundation, though the lake Mæris, formed, it is said, for this important use³⁵, owes its name to a prince who reigned only four generations, that is a hundred and thirty-two years before the taking of Troy.

Arts relative to the improvement.
I. Of food.

Upwards of three centuries before that era, the Egyptians in the time of Moses raised great varieties of grain; wheat, barley, and rye³⁶. Their gardens produced a profusion of legumes, cucumbers, and melons³⁷: and though the soil is unfavourable to trees, figs and pomegranates abounded in the days of Moses³⁸, and grapes even in those of Joseph³⁹. At that early period, however, wine was not an usual beverage. Pharaoh's butler took the grapes and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup; clearly indicating that the natural juice was drunk simply with water, and preferred to fermented liquor in a warm climate, and by a people peculiarly attentive to rules of health⁴⁰. Of beer, which appears soon afterwards to have become the common drink of the working classes, I find not any mention in the books of Moses: though the invention of beer, a preparation far more complicated than wine, is assigned⁴¹ to the reign of Osiris, the most venerable of those idols in whose name the Egyptians were long governed by priests, the gods' earthly vicegerents.

As an article of food, the Egyptians should seem to have paid particular attention to fishes. The lake Mæris above mentioned, about fifty miles south of Memphis, and two

³⁵ Diodorus, l. i. s. 51. and Herodot. l. ii. c. 101. and 149. But see Major Rennell's note, Geography of Herodotus, p. 504.

³⁶ Exodus, c. ix. v. 31, 32.

³⁷ Numbers, c. xi. v. 5.

³⁸ Numbers, c. xx. v. 5.

³⁹ Genesis, c. xl. v. 11.

⁴⁰ Herodotus, Aristotle, and Diodorus Siculus.

⁴¹ Diodorus, l. i. s. 15.

hundred miles in circuit, produced twentytwo different kinds, the catching and curing of which employed innumerable hands. From the profits accruing on this branch of industry, a queen of Egypt is said to have received daily the value of two hundred pounds sterling for the expense of her toilet and perfumes⁴². This queen, whose luxury was supplied by the sale of other luxuries, some historians make anterior to Mæris who gave his name to the lake. Let us suppose that the curing of fishes in Egypt was a lucrative traffic fifteen centuries before the Christian era; at the same time, calling to mind the order of Charles V. emperor of Germany, an equal number of centuries after that period, for erecting a statue to George Bukel, for his valuable discovery of curing herrings, and we shall be ready to conclude with the philosopher that many inventions, even of vulgar use, have been often lost and often recovered⁴³.

In procuring materials for clothing, the Egyptians discovered not less ingenuity. The fine vesture in which Joseph was arrayed⁴⁴ may be supposed to have consisted of byssus or cotton, since this substance is extracted from a nut, immemorially growing in Egypt, and there formed into raiment⁴⁵. But at the era of the Jewish emigration, Egypt abounded also with yarn from flax⁴⁶; a manufacture of greater intricacy than that of cotton, since instead of a soft down easily separable from its covering, the tough filaments of flax must be disengaged from the friable and useless wood which they inclose, by maceration in water, and successive manual operations of considerable difficulty. Of the decorations which different stuffs received from dying and embroidery, conspicuous proofs appear in the sacerdotal vestments of the Hebrews and the inner hangings of the tabernacle, in which we find not only the simpler employments of those arts, but ingenious complications of them into pieces

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III.

II. Or
clothing.

⁴² Diodorus, l. i. s. 52. Conf. Herodot. l. iii. c. 92.

⁴³ Aristotle, *passim*.

⁴⁴ Genesis, c. xli. v. 42.

⁴⁵ Pollux Onomastic, vii. 13.

⁴⁶ And the flax was bolled, that is, had risen in stalks. Exodus, c. ix. v. 32.

SECT. of exquisite workmanship. Among a profusion of brilliant
 III. colours may be discovered the coccus⁴⁷ of the Greeks, or kermes of the Arabs, the deeper scarlet tint obtained from cochineal⁴⁸, and the still richer Tyrian dye from the neck of the Palagea⁴⁹, as the colour translated blue or violet⁵⁰, proceeds from the blacker blood of the Sepia or Cuttle-fish. The cochineal mentioned in this list, was brought by the Indo-Scythians, of whom we have already spoken, to the great staple of Bactra; there it was purchased by the Assyrian caravans; and by the routes formerly described⁵¹, brought down from Syria into Egypt. The greater part of this shining dye stopt short, however, in Assyria, to supply the vast manufactories of cloth established successively, as will be seen hereafter, at Babylon and Borsippa.

III. With regard to solid and magnificent dwellings.

But of the three necessities of life; food, clothing, and habitation, the last was most magnificently provided for amongst a people who, in the chain of mountains bordering on the Red Sea, enjoyed invaluable materials for building. In this endless range, for it extends far beyond the straits of Babelmandeb, to the unexplored regions of Southern Africa, fine granite and marble were ordinary and little regarded productions: the mountains teem with porphyry, alabaster, and the hardest basalts; and on their sides towards the Nile, many natural declivities facilitate the conveyance of those rich productions to the water's edge⁵². Of this advantage the Egyptians availed themselves to rear public monuments unparalleled in solidity and grandeur; among the ruins of which, though no private dwelling appear, it has been rashly concluded that none of great value were ever to be found, and that the habitations of the ancient Egyptians, like those of the present wretched tenants of the soil, consisted of ear-

⁴⁷ Κοκκίον δισπών. Exodus, c. xxv.

⁴⁸ Michaelis, from the root of the word, infers that the Hebrews knew cochineal to be the production of an insect. Anmerk. Exodus, c. xxv. v. 4. He might have cited the *θυσία σποδρα δερματι κινναβας* of Ctesias, Indic. c. xxi.

⁴⁹ Plin. N. H. l. ix. c. 36. and Amati de Restitut. Purpurarum, p. 30.

⁵⁰ Ταυρίδος, Septuagint

⁵¹ See above, p. 24.

⁵² Bruce's Travels to discover the source of the Nile, vol. i. p. 176. and seq.

then huts, slightly covered with palm trees⁵³. We know, on the contrary, from good authority, that even in Thèbes, the first capital of Egypt, many private houses were worthy of that magnificence which shone in public edifices⁵⁴. In early ages, indeed, magnificence like knowledge was confined to the few: but exertions in laborious undertakings are never more vigorous or more successful, than when the artful few direct the patient industry of thoughtless and submissive millions⁵⁵.

The subject of Egyptian architecture naturally divides itself into temples, mausolea, obelisks, and pyramids; matters too familiar to the reader to be easy to the writer. The three first mentioned remount to immemorial antiquity: pyramids, as will be seen presently, have a far later origin. I begin with temples, which, as above proved, were destined not solely to sacred, but to many important civil purposes. It has been conjectured with some probability, that the tabernacle of the Jews in the wilderness, might give the general outline of Egyptian temples⁵⁶. This venerable sanctuary of worship to the living God, in opposition to the vilest, but from its associations, the most bewitching idolatry, was merely a portable temple for as yet, a Nomadic nation⁵⁷. It is described in all its parts with a circumstantial minuteness, which those will most approve, who can best estimate the importance of definite weights and measures to a people just emerging into civil and settled life. According to the sacred Penman⁵⁸, the tabernacle consisted of an inner structure, which he calls the house; and an outer, which he calls the tent or court. The house was covered with curtains of fine linen; with blue and purple and scarlet. It was ten cubits high and as many broad, supported on acacia pillars, and divided by a veil into two apartments; the one looking towards the

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III.

Egyptian
architec-
ture.
I. Temples.

⁵³ Bruce, *ibid*.

⁵⁴ Diodorus, l. i. s. 45.

⁵⁵ The period at which this most perfectly took place is the true age of Anakim; the age not so much of giants as of gigantic undertakings.

⁵⁶ Spencer in *Dissertat. de Tabernac. Origin.* p. 660. first edit.

⁵⁷ Josephus *Antiq. Judaic.* l. iii. c. 5.

⁵⁸ Exodus, c. xxvi. throughout.

SECT. east, called the holy place, twenty cubits in length; the other
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looking towards the west, called the most holy, only ten cubits in length. Both divisions were overhung with fine linen, and this linen was covered externally with camlet or hair cloth, and this hair cloth again shielded by two layers of leather, the one of rams' skins died red, the other of badgers' skins. The rams' skins died red had already travelled, it should seem, to Egypt from Morocco, and the pillars of Hercules, where they were manufactured in the remotest antiquity⁵⁹. The badgers' skins formed the outermost covering of all, and were judiciously chosen for completing the whole work, since the Arabs, who make shields and shoes of this substance, boast of the former as musket proof, and are said to undervalue the latter if they do not last them fifteen years⁶⁰. The holy house, itself a rectangle, was surrounded by a larger rectangle, called by Moses the court or tent; whose two larger sides were hung with curtains of fine linen, an hundred cubits long, and the two shorter sides hung with curtains extending respectively the length of fifty cubits⁶¹.

The temples of Egypt had three distinct parts, corresponding to the divisions of the tabernacle: that is, the tent, the holy place, and the most holy⁶². The tent of the Hebrews answered to the sacred and solid inclosure of the Egyptians, always distinguished by a marble pavement, about one hundred feet broad, and three or four hundred in length. This magnificent avenue, which the Greeks called Dromos "the course," was ornamented on each side by a row of sphinxes, reposing at the distance of commonly thirty feet asunder⁶³. The course led directly to the body of the temple, whose approaches were rendered awful by a long series of lofty and sounding porticoes. The body of the temple consisted of two

⁵⁹ Herodotus, l. iv. c. 185. with Rennell's Commentary, p. 669. called *νῆος*; the outer corresponding to the holy place is called *πρῶτος*;

⁶⁰ Michaelis ad Exod. c. xxvi.

⁶¹ Exodus, c. xxvii.

⁶² The two parts collectively are

the inner corresponding to the most holy is called *σῆκος*. Strab. Ibid.

⁶³ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 805.

parts, the larger corresponding to the holy place, and the smaller to the most holy. Both these apartments were embraced by walls of the same altitude with the temple, and called wings, because they hovered around that august building, expanding from it on both sides towards the sacred inclosure. These walls or wings were carved with large idols in the hard Tuscan style, or earliest sculpture of Greece⁶⁴.

The Grecian traveller who thus delineates the general form of Egyptian temples, was astonished to find their sanctuaries or shrines altogether destitute of gods in the human form. Notwithstanding their high attainments in arts and sciences, the Egyptians, indeed, appear to have for ever wallowed in the vilest superstitions, even the grossest of all, that of brute worship. Though they were formed into a nation, as we have seen, from a coalition among the trading towns on the north of the Nubian desert, and from a variety of tribes living by different pursuits, and with a wide diversity of customs and rites, yet this strange mode of idolatry was the grand characteristic of the whole. Such wonderful concurrence in a matter seemingly so extravagant, points to a colonization flowing with the Nile from the inland mountains of Africa, where brute worship commonly prevailed, and still continues to prevail⁶⁵; and this suspicion is corroborated by history, which

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Their idols:

⁶⁴ Id. *ibid*.

⁶⁵ It is an ingenious conjecture of Warburton's (*Divine Légation*, B. iv. sect. 4. p. 168.), that brute worship originated in hieroglyphics; in which the figures of animals were employed as representatives of the gods. Yet this conjecture is rather disproved by a wider acquaintance with savage nations. Many Negro tribes destitute of hieroglyphics, and writing and carving, of any kind, worship animals, nay, reptiles; punishing with death those who hurt them even casually. See Brian Edwards's *Hist. of the West Indies*, 4to edit. vol. ii. p. 77. With a view to confirm his system, Warburton

observes that, "the Egyptians also worshipped plants; for plants too were made use of for explaining the history of their gods," p. 167. he cites Juvenal Satyr. xv.

Felices populi,

Quorum nascuntur in hortis numina, and as far as I can discover, no other authority can be cited besides this hasty ebullition of an angry satirist. That the Egyptians derived their animal worship from the interior of Africa is indicated in Scripture. The Hebrews are forbidden in Leviticus, c. xvii. v. 7. "to offer sacrifices to *beasts*." Michaelis translates *satyr*, the largest kind of Apes; and I believe rightly. for I

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places the first great settlement or city at Elephantina, the southern extremity of Egypt; the second at Thebes or Diospolis; and then northwards⁶⁶ in succession, at This, or Abydos, Heracleopolis, and Memphis, which last, situate only twenty miles above the apex of the Delta, contained the palace of the Pharaohs, though Thebes continued many centuries after Moses to surpass the new capital in opulence and magnitude⁶⁷. The building of Memphis, and Heliopolis, places near the top of the Delta, was accompanied with the draining of Lower Egypt, after which useful labour, cities of great note arose in that rich alluvial district: Tanis, Bubastus, Mendes, Sebennetus, Sais, Canopus, the last of which was nearly contiguous to Aboukir, a name ever glorious to Britain, and was a considerable emporium, distinguished by a great annual fair⁶⁸, before Alexandria arose in its neighbourhood, the general rendezvous of nations, and sovereign of the commercial world.

Varieties
thereof.

In the principal temples which adorned and protected the innumerable cities of Egypt, there seems to have been a rivalry of hereditary priesthoods; strange diversities of worship, and unaccountable collisions of superstition. Some cities sacrificed sheep, but abstained religiously from goats; others reversed this practice⁶⁹. Some hunted crocodiles, others held that monster in veneration⁷⁰. All of them however worshipped the bull, after that emblem of creative power became the God of Memphis, the supreme capital of the kingdom; and all abominated the hog⁷¹, excluding swineherds

and the superstition of satyr-worship prevailing to an extraordinary degree, in a part of Africa pervaded by exploring detachments of Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily, during his memorable invasion of Africa that will be circumstantially related in a subsequent part of this work.

⁶⁶ The sites of three successive capitals; Thebes, Memphis, and Alexandria, point to the same general conclusion. As we descend in the order of time, Egypt becomes less connected with Ethiopia, and more

connected with the Mediterranean. The line of commercial and political connexion flowed from south to north.

⁶⁷ Aristot. Meteor. l. i. c. 14. Conf. Manethon apud Syncell. Chronic.

⁶⁸ Aristot. Oeconom. Opera, l. ii. p. 509 Edit. du Val.

⁶⁹ Herodot. l. ii. c. 42 & 46.

⁷⁰ Aristot. Oeconom. ubi supra. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 69.

⁷¹ Genesis, c. xlii. v. 34. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 47, & l. iv. c. 186.

from social communion; doubtless in compliance with the great maxims of the priestly governors of Egypt, to draw their subjects from the idleness of pastoral, to the industry of agricultural, life. Amidst much capricious variety, the genius of polytheism delineated formerly in reference to ancient Greece⁷², remained however unalterable, modelled in Egypt by local circumstances, and extended by the zeal of priests, consisting of distinct races or casts, and actuated by family as well as personal considerations in extending their credit with the multitude. Although all the Egyptian idols were represented either in the general form, or at least with some prominent characteristic of inferior animals, yet the Greeks easily discovered their own Jupiter at Thebes; their Apollo at Heliopolis or On; their Vulcan at Memphis; their Diana at Bubastus; and at Sais, the blue-eyed goddess their favourite Minerva⁷³. All these fanciful images bore a reference to the beneficent powers of nature⁷⁴, or rather of its Great Author: the most of them admitted of interpretations, agricultural, or astronomical; some of a general kind, others applicable only to the meridian and soil of Egypt. Thus the hawk-headed Osiris, denoted either the sun or the Nile⁷⁵, two sources of fertility entitled in that country to equal honours; and the barking Anubis, for which no parallel was found in the mythology of Greece, signified Sirius⁷⁶ or the dog-star, whose heliacal rising warned the Egyptians of the Nile's approaching inundation.

That great periodical event which suspended useful labours, was the favourite season for religious festivity. The festival of Diana's temple at Bubastus, continued even in later times, after Egypt had long smarted under Persian oppression, to be celebrated by seven hundred thousand persons⁷⁷, whose boats in long order crowded the Nile,

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III.

Festival at
Bubastus.

⁷² History of Ancient Greece, chapter ii. throughout.

⁷³ Herodot. l. ii. *passim*.

⁷⁴ *Fragilis et laboriosa mortalitas in partes ista digressit, infirmitatis suæ memor, ut portionibus quisque coleret, quo maxime indigeret.* Plin.

Nat. Hist. l. ii. c. 7.

⁷⁵ Plutarch de Isid. & Osirid.

⁷⁶ In the language of the inhabitants in the Isle of Meroe, Seir still signifies a dog. Bruce's Travels.

⁷⁷ Herodot. l. ii. c. 60.

SECT. and whose licentious merriment at every city on their way,
 III. dissipated all perception of actual inconveniences in the gladdening prospect of promised abundance.

II. Mausolea.

Near to all the Egyptian cities, the solidity and magnificence of mausolea excited the veneration of natives, and the wonder of strangers. The peculiar pains bestowed in adorning those sepulchral monuments originated in the belief that the soul still continued after death to be deeply interested in the treatment of its earthly companion⁷⁸; on which account dead bodies were carefully embalmed, that they might be preserved from corruption and deformity. In the neighbourhood of Memphis, the burying ground was viewed with particular attention by Greek travellers. The numerous sepulchres belonging to that capital, were approached only by one passage, which led to hollow caverns and flowery meadows, to scenes of loathsome desolation and fields of verdant pleasure; and the arrival at such contrarieties of habitation by the same common avenue, the dreary lake of death, is supposed to have given birth to the Greek fables concerning Charon, Acheron, Elysium and Tartarus⁷⁹. Even the Pyramids in the same neighbourhood, of which we shall speak presently, may be regarded under a certain aspect as mausolea to the dead; since among the Egyptians who spoke and wrote by metaphors and images, no symbols could be better chosen than those unperishing edifices to express the unalterable stability of the grave⁸⁰. But among all the buildings in Egypt, the labyrinth or sepulchre of the kings, and the tomb of Osymandyas were regarded by the Greeks, as the greatest prodigies both of labour and of skill.

The Labyrinth.

The labyrinth, a few miles south of the lake Mœris, at the city of Crocodiles, afterwards called Arsinoe, is erroneously

⁷⁸ Diodorus, l. i. s. 51. Conf. Servius ad Eneid, iii. 7.

⁷⁹ Diodorus, l. i. s. 96. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 123.

⁸⁰ Diodorus, l. i. s. 51. says, καὶ τὰς μιντῶν ζῶντων οἰκησὶς καταλυσὶς ὀνομαζέσθαι, &c. "The Egyptians called the habitations of the living

caravansaries, because they are useful but for a short time; whereas the tombs of the dead they called eternal mansions, because they are to serve us for ever."

ascribed to the twelve kings immediately preceding the reign of Psammetichus. This prince began to reign six hundred and sixty years before the Christian era; but the labyrinth near Arsinoe was imitated by Dædalus of Crete, above twelve centuries before Christ, in an intricate edifice, which he erected in that island, at the expense of the elder Minos⁸¹. This Egyptian monument is referred therefore with some probability to Mendes, the contemporary of Minos; though our authority for this fact is weakened by the inconsistency of Diodorus, who also assigns for the author of this stupendous piece of architecture, Marus, a prince more ancient than Mendes; and in another passage, even Menes the supposed founder of the Egyptian monarchy⁸². The work therefore belongs to that early antiquity which produced the boldest exertions of the Egyptians; the subjugation of the Nile's overflowing tide, the formation of the lake Mœris, the building of Memphis, and the draining by fit channels the marshy Delta. The labyrinth which rivalled those labours, and which Herodotus prizes far beyond the Pyramids, consisted of twelve nearly contiguous courts, roofed with solid marble, and surrounded with white marble peristyles. Of these twelve courts, six faced the north; and other six the south: the gates of the corresponding courts were opposite to each other, and the whole number was comprehended within one wall of massy stone. This quadrangular inclosure of courts and galleries, whose shortest sides extended a stadium in length, comprehended fifteen hundred dwellings or houses, roofed with different kinds of valuable stones, and as many subterranean apartments into which strangers were not allowed to enter, because they were the sepulchres of kings and sacred crocodiles⁸³. But all above ground was shown without scruple, and appeared to surpass the productions of human art; occasioning in the beholder a pleasing astonishment by the intricacy of the passages from the houses

⁸¹ Diodorus, l. i. c. 47 & seq.

⁸³ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 148.

⁸² Ibid. c. 96.

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to the courts, and from one court or one house to another, and then to elevated porticoes, each of which was ascended by ninety steps⁸⁴, affording from their open summits a wide prospect of surrounding fields of marble.

Astronomically explained.

From hints afforded by Strabo⁸⁵ and Pliny it seems improbable that the labyrinth was originally destined for sepulchres. It should appear rather to have been a temple dedicated to the sun, and the seat of political superstition, founded, as we have seen, chiefly on astronomy. In conformity with this notion, the twelve courts bore a reference to the twelve signs of the Zodiac, the houses above and below ground denoted the two hemispheres above and below the horizon: the ninety steps by which each portico was ascended, represented the quadrant of a great circle; the winding passages might express the intricate revolutions of the planets; and even the number of three thousand apartments, (fifteen hundred above and as many below ground), should seem clearly connected with a conclusion of the Egyptian astronomers, adopted, it is said⁸⁶ by the Greeks, that the precession of the equinoxes advanced a degree of a great circle in the space of one hundred years, and therefore required precisely three thousand years to advance thirty degrees, that is a whole sign of the zodiac.

That the labyrinth was sometimes employed for inter-

⁸⁴ Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxvi. c. 13. The importance of this notice will be seen presently.

⁸⁵ Strabo, l. xxvii. p. 811.

⁸⁶ Conf. Ficin. in Platon. de Republic. l. x. p. 744, and de Legib. l. iii. p. 803. According to the principles in the text, the Annus Magnus or Platonic year, will be obtained by multiplying three thousand, expressing the time in which the equinoxes advance one sign, by the number twelve, denoting the twelve signs of the zodiac: the Platonic year will therefore contain thirty six thousand solar years, which

number is precisely what it did contain. It is well known that the ancients assigned too little velocity to the precession of the equinoxes, their real movement being about fifty seconds yearly. Vid. l'Encycloped. Article Precession. The astronomical explanations of the Labyrinth are here given as conjectures; for the history of Egyptian astronomy becomes certain only in the age of the Ptolemies. We shall see in a subsequent part of this work, the great improvements of astronomy, geography, &c. under this learned dynasty.

ments we have the authority of ancient writers. This destination of it was indicated also by a pyramid two hundred and forty feet high in its neighbourhood⁸⁷. But its connexion with astronomy is confirmed by another monument of the same kind, and not less stupendous, in the same or district of Thebes; and called the tomb of Osymandyas. This structure contained also, besides a sepulchre, courts and porticoes, some of them instead of pillars supported by animals twenty four feet high, and formed from single blocks. The tomb itself presented images of equal durability, being constructed with stones eight cubits long; the roof was azure, bespangled with stars; but the colossal figures of Osymandyas and of the females of his family, surpassed every thing most admirable. The statue of the king, in a sitting posture, was formed of the stone called pyropæcilos⁸⁸ from the flaming colours with which it blazed. A block of peculiar beauty, without the smallest crack or blemish, had been carefully selected for this colossus, whose foot exceeded in length seven cubits. It deserved to be an emblem of the sun, and that it really was such, appeared from the golden circle with which it was encompassed, divided into three hundred and sixty five cubits, each cubit denoting a corresponding day of the year, and describing in its sculpture the current aspect of the heavens, and the accompanying events on earth, according to the fanciful predictions of Egyptian astrology⁸⁹.

The trite subject of obelisks and pyramids I shall consider under one view, because the specific distinctions between them have been greatly mistaken by popular writers⁹⁰. They agree in being quadrilateral figures, whose sides point to

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This confirmed by the tomb of Osymandyas.

III. and IV.
Pyramids and Obelisks.

⁸⁷ Herodot. *ibid*.

⁸⁸ Diodorus, l. i. c. 47, with Wesseling's note. Conf. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 8.

⁸⁹ Diodorus, l. i. c. 49. Of all our travellers, Paul Lucas alone was believed to have seen this monument,

Voyage, vol. ii. p. 119. But Mr. Gilbert, *Mem. de l'Acad.* vol. xxx. p. 241, denies also to him that honour.

⁹⁰ Among others by Diderot. See *l'Encyclop.* Article "Égyptiens."

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the four quarters of heaven. But the obelisks are pillars of granite of a single piece, from fifty to one hundred and eighty feet high; and their perpendicular height commonly nine times the length of one side of their base. The pyramids, on the other hand, are enormous edifices of free stone, (one only is mentioned of brick⁹¹), whose breadth commonly equals the length of their sloping sides⁹², and always exceeds their perpendicular altitude. The obelisks remount to immemorial antiquity, and are found in every part of Egypt. The builders of all the principal pyramids are mentioned as living a little before or after the Trojan war⁹³: and these monuments are confined to a particular district, namely that of Memphis or Memf; to the north west of which you see the three greater pyramids; and to the south about threescore smaller ones⁹⁴: The greatest of all the pyramids according to Herodotus reached eight hundred feet in height, and contained precisely as many in each side of its quadrangular base. Our most accurate measurements make the base 693 English feet broad, and the sloping sides the same number of feet long, but differences in the account are unavoidable from the perpetually shifting mounds of sand, by which the pyramids are surrounded. These huge masses still bear evident marks of the simple contrivance by which they were raised. They consisted of distinct courses of stone, gradually diminishing as they rose in elevation. Light machines of wood easily manageable, placed on the first or largest course, served to raise the materials necessary for constructing the second, and thus successively until the whole was completed⁹⁵. In several of the pyramids our travellers have discovered chambers, galleries, and subterraneous cells⁹⁶; such varieties might naturally be expected in sepulchres. The three more enormous masses were raised after the war of Troy⁹⁷,

⁹¹ Herodotus, l. ii. p. 136.⁹⁵ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 125.⁹² Ibid. l. ii. p. 125.⁹⁶ Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 41⁹³ Ibid. l. ii. passim.

Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 124.

⁹⁴ Conf. Pococke, Perry, Greaves, Bruce, Maillet, &c.⁹⁷ That is, B. C. 1184 and Cleop's reign commenced 1178, B. C.

and the first and greatest of the three by Cheops, whose tyrannical reign of forty years commenced shortly after that event. This unworthy prince was the first native of Egypt, who, in quitting due reverence for the gods and their ministers, at the same time fearlessly relinquished the maxims of humanity and justice⁹⁸. Through his oppressive government the public prosperity, which had long appeared unalterable, received a fatal shock; his unhappy subjects were impoverished and exhausted by incessant and useless toils, and particularly in raising this gigantic prodigy of architecture, which was completed in twenty years by the uninterrupted exertions of 400,000 men tasked in succession to the odious work⁹⁹. The value of their consumption in radishes, onions, and garlic was engraved in Egyptian characters on the pyramid, and amounted to sixteen hundred talents of silver¹⁰⁰. How vast then, adds the historian, must have been their expenditure during the same space of time, in food, clothing, and particularly in iron implements of labour¹⁰¹?

The obelisks are productions not less wonderful by their difficulty than the pyramids, and far more respectable in their use. When we consider that the obelisks consisted of single blocks of granite, some of them an hundred and fifty, and even an hundred and eighty feet high, the successive operations of hewing them unbroken from the quarry, of transporting them safely to the most distant parts of the country, of adorning the hard stone with sculpture, often two inches deep, and rearing such huge pillars into the sky with a precise adjustment of their sides to the four winds of heaven¹⁰², we shall feel a new interest in favour of the Egyptians, as a people who illustrated the utmost extent of the human powers in works unrivalled in their own kind, and whose grandeur is scarcely surpassed in any other¹⁰³. The first

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III.

⁹⁸ Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 124. and 413,000/.
Aristot. Politic. l. i. c. 11.

⁹⁹ Id. ibid. and Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12.

¹⁰⁰ The Egyptian talent exceeding the Babylonian by twenty minæ, the sum may be estimated at
Vol. I.

¹⁰¹ Herodot. ibid.

¹⁰² See Memoir de l'Acad. des Sciences pour 1710, Artic. Eloge de Chazelles.

¹⁰³ Plin. N. H. l. xxxvi. c. 9.

SECT. III. obelisks remount to immemorial antiquity, and might serve for gnomons far more perfect than the natural shadows of trees and mountains¹⁰⁴. They were unfortunately, as we have seen, very early prostituted to the purposes of superstition. They frequently served as ornaments to palaces and temples. They might sometimes be employed to convey instruction to the multitude on moral¹⁰⁵ as well as physical subjects; and they contained in their hieroglyphics a history ambiguous from the nature of the character in which it was written; perhaps hyperbolical in itself, and certainly full of exaggeration, as it was usually interpreted¹⁰⁶.

Reign of
Sesostris.
B. C. 1430.

The most celebrated of those exaggerations is the Egyptian account of the reign of Sesostris, which commenced above fourteen centuries before Christ, and is said to have lasted forty years¹⁰⁷. This great prince appears to have repaired the disasters in Egypt, accompanying the emigration of the Israelites. At the head of a few of his countrymen, enterprising like himself, and of numerous hordes of Arabian and Ethiopian Nomades¹⁰⁸, whom his valour and generosity attracted to his service, he overran and plundered Lesser Asia and Syria¹⁰⁹, in which territories monuments of his victories were shown after the lapse of a thousand years¹¹⁰. Ambitious

¹⁰⁴ Plin. *ibid*.

¹⁰⁵ This use of obelisks or pillars was adopted in Greece. See *History of Ancient Greece*, vol. ii. c. 13. Mr. Bruce's notion that the gravings on obelisks contained astronomical observations is well founded: but he contradicts history in confining the use of these gravings to astronomy only. *Comp. Bruce's Travels*, vol. i. p. 414, &c. and *Diodorus*, l. i. c. 56. and *Tacitus Annal.* l. iv. c. 60.

¹⁰⁶ Every thing said by the ancients or moderns on the subject of obelisks is collected in a folio volume, *De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum auctore Georgio Zoega Dano. Romæ 1747*.

¹⁰⁷ Aristotle places Sesostris many years before Minos. See *His-*

tory of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 1. Herodotus makes him precede by a century the foundation of the Assyrian empire, 1230 years B. C. *Conf. Herodot.* l. i. c. 95. l. ii. c. 106. and *Aristot. Politic.* l. vii. c. 10.

¹⁰⁸ *Diodor.* l. i. c. 53. *Conf. Herodotus*, l. ii. c. 110.

¹⁰⁹ Herodotus speaks positively as to his statues in a district of Syria, l. ii. c. 102. and 106.

¹¹⁰ Herodot. *ibid.* Strabo makes the duration of his statues in Ethiopia four centuries longer, since he says, "they were shown there in the age of Augustus," l. xvii. p. 790. Both Strabo and Arrian reject his fabulous expedition into India. *Conf. Arriani Indica*, c. v. and Strabo, l. xv. p. 686.

of every kind of glory, Sesostris overcame the deep-rooted aversion of the Egyptians to a seafaring life. He encouraged all the arts, erected many temples, strengthened the fortifications of his kingdom; and after a long and splendid reign, withdrew himself by a voluntary death from blindness and old age, which appeared intolerable calamities to a mind softened by a long and smooth course of unvaried prosperity¹¹¹. On the basis of these facts several of which are well attested, the Egyptian priests raised a fabulous superstructure, which magnified the actions of Sesostris above the poetical exploits of Hercules and Bacchus. His imaginary trophies were diffused over India and Scythia; the Arabian gulph was navigated with four hundred ships of war; another great fleet commanded the Mediterranean¹¹²; and his obelisks told, according to the priests, of the hundred myriads¹¹³ of warriors whom he commanded, of the kings whom he had dragged in triumph, and of the annual tributes which he levied from the vanquished and enslaved¹¹⁴ nations of the ancient world. That Egyptian vanity might be flattered in every part of the narrative, the fierce Nomades, whom the same testimony had assigned as the instruments of his victories, were thrown as it were into the back ground of the fable, and the whole honour is ascribed solely to Sesostris and his Egyptian companions; all born on the same day with himself, carefully trained with him to martial exercises, and of whom seventeen hundred accompanied him in the fortieth year of his age, on his great Indian expedition¹¹⁵. But this number, it has justly been observed, implies at least ten thousand births in Egypt on one day; three million six hundred and fifty thousand in one year; and therefore raises the populousness of that king-

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¹¹¹ Diodor. l. i. s. 54. & seq. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 107. & seq.

¹¹² Diodor. *ibid*.

¹¹³ *ἑκατὸν μυριάδας*. Strabo.

¹¹⁴ Tacitus Annal. l. ii. c. 60. In Tacitus, the king's name is Rhamesses; but Valesius observes *Iste Sesothis (Sesostris) trinominis fuit, teste Manethone*. The Egyptian

kings, like the Assyrian, had often different names at different periods of their reign. Scaliger ad Euseb. Num. 530.

¹¹⁵ Diodor. *ibid*. He reports this, but cannot well be supposed to have believed it; especially after what he had said of the vain lies of the Egyptian priests, l. i. c. 29.

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dom to upwards of sixty millions of souls: a populousness altogether impossible in such a country, and not only unwarranted, but contradicted by all ancient authority¹¹⁶. After this remark, it would be trifling with the reader to animadvert on Sesostri's wondrous ship of cedar, four hundred and ninety feet in length, covered externally with gold, and on the inside with silver¹¹⁷. His nautical improvements left at least no traces behind them. We hear the nothing for many following centuries of Egyptians in the Mediterranean: the navigation of the Arabian gulph was thenceforth left to the nation from whom its name was borrowed; and until the dynasty of Psammeticus raised up, as we have seen, by Greeks, Egypt is never mentioned as possessed of any naval power, or carrying on, by its own ships, any maritime commerce.

Different
races of
men in
Egypt.

Having endeavoured as briefly as possible to describe the antiquities of a country, whose more authentic history will be related in following parts of this work, I shall conclude the present subject by examining whether the ancient Egyptians, of whose ingenuity and intelligence so much has been said, were in reality woolly headed Negroes. Such an inference has been drawn from an extraordinary passage of Herodotus, in which he alleges their black colour and crisp hair as reasons for believing that the Colchians inhabiting the eastern shore of the Black sea, were a colony from Egypt¹¹⁸. It is remarkable that the historian himself makes light of these arguments, and considers as much stronger points the practice of circumcision common to the two nations, and their agreement in the same peculiar mode of weaving linen¹¹⁹. The fact appears to be, that the Egyptians were a mixed

¹¹⁶ Conf. Diodor. l. i. s. 19 and Josephus de Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 16.

¹¹⁷ Diodor. l. i. c. 57.

¹¹⁸ Herodot. l. ii. c. 104. The same conclusion has been drawn from monuments, particularly from the Ethiopian features of the celebrated Sphinx. Bruce, Denon, and other travellers.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. and c. 105. Their peculiar mode of weaving alludes to what the author says, l. ii. c. 35, that other nations pushed the wool upwards, the Egyptians downward: from which Junius de Pictura Veterum, l. i. c. 4, concludes that the Egyptians were the first people who wove sitting. •

people, that had coalesced into a nation from different casts or families, as their country had grown into a kingdom, from different nomes or districts. Historians, indeed, have sometimes considered these divisions as nice arrangements of legislative wisdom; yet no two authors are agreed as to the number of casts ¹²⁰ or nomes ¹²¹, or as to the different trades or professions respectively exercised in them. Authority, indeed, was not necessary to induce the hardy mountaineers on either side the valley of the Nile, or even the feebler races inhabiting the marshes which bordered on the Delta, both which districts are unfit for tillage, to betake themselves to a pastoral life. In several less fruitful parts on either bank of the river, as well as on the lake Mœris, fishing was the hereditary trade, because it was the most profitable. The cast of sailors was introduced and maintained through the commercial intercourse on the Nile, easily navigable for upwards of five hundred miles from Syenè to the Mediterranean, and in the navigation of which the Egyptian mariners were accustomed to avail themselves of a north wind to surmount the force of the stream in returning to Syenè. The trading vessels were called *Baris*, carrying fifty tons and upwards; they were made of a thorny shrub, and the only ships that from its native materials could be constructed in a country equally destitute of wood and iron ¹²². Herodotus says that the cast of interpreters descended from Ionians and Carians first settled in Egypt in the reign of Psammetichus ¹²³. Yet the patriarch Joseph a thousand years before the reign of Psammētichus, already spoke by an interpreter to his brethren ¹²⁴; and men conversant with different languages could not fail to turn to account this attainment, in a country which at that early period, was

¹²⁰ The great authorities, Herodotus and Diodorus differ materially. The former, l. i. c. 164, makes seven casts: priests, soldiers, graziers, swine-herds, artificers, interpreters, sailors; meaning watermen on the Nile.

¹²¹ Diodorus says, "Sesostris divided Egypt into thirty-six nomes," l. i. c. 54.

¹²² Herodot. l. ii. c. 96.

¹²³ Ibid. c. 154.

¹²⁴ Genesis, c. xlii. v. 23

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the center of the great caravan commerce, between Asia and Africa, and the principal subdivisions of the latter between Libya and Ethiopia ¹²⁵. As the Egyptians subsisting by agriculture, by far the most numerous and respectable ¹²⁶ portion of the community did not willingly quit their native country, this extended intercourse was carried on chiefly through Arabian and Ethiopian Nomades ¹²⁷. With regard to the inhabitants of Egypt, it was in some measure a passive commerce, that people producing indeed many of the articles exchanged in it, but patiently waiting till other nations purchased and transported them. Through the excellence of its husbandry, Egypt speedily became the granary of surrounding countries; and from the earliest times, the varied labours of its looms ¹²⁸, found their way to the markets of Greece, and even to the coasts of the Atlantic. In a country originally peopled by different tribes, and which afterwards long continued to be the conflux of nations from Asia and Africa, with regard to both of which continents it is so peculiarly situate, that ancient historians and geographers hesitated to which of the two it ought in propriety to be assigned, we might naturally expect to meet with a wide diversity of inhabitants, too variously combined for distinct classification. The extremes, however, may be fixed on one hand, in the stout, stubborn and woolly headed Ethiopian; and on the other, in the delicate, flexible, and ingenious inhabitant of the Delta: a weak, dark race, with long lank hair, resembling nearly the natives of kindred alluvions formed by the Indus

¹²⁵ Genesis, c. xxxvii. v. 25. Isa. c. xlv. v. 14. Ezekiel, c. xxx. v. 4. and 9.

¹²⁶ Herodotus, l. 2. c. 160.

¹²⁷ Genesis, Isaiah, and Ezekiel, ubi supra.

¹²⁸ Conf. Scylax Peripf. p. 129. and Thucyd. l. i. p. 5. edit. Francofort. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 35. and Isaiah, c. xix. v. 10. The "weber-stühle" in Michaelis' translation, agrees with the conjecture from the

words of Herodotus, that the Egyptians wove sitting. How could Mr. Bruce in opposition to all authority say, "Solomon decked his bed with coverings of tapestry of Egypt! Egypt had neither silk, nor cotton manufactory, nor even wool; Solomon's coverings, therefore, though he had them from Egypt, were an article of barter with India." Travels, vol. i. p. 118.

and the Ganges¹²⁰. Between these limits the great intermediate body of the nation appears to have fluctuated; a nation that with much to recommend it to the attention of posterity, might have deservedly excited a yet deeper interest, had not its improvement been thenceforward rendered stationary, not merely through external causes that will be explained in the following work, but through the difficulties of its hieroglyphical writing and its superstitious abhorrence of innovation. It has the glory, however, of emerging above the ocean of time, as the first regular monarchy described in authentic history; and should the polished kingdoms of Europe ever experience the sad fate that has befallen the far greater eastern continent, when all their noblest monuments were fast mouldering to decay, the matchless works of the Egyptians would even then survive, and still bear testimony that civilization had once existed in an ancient world.

Under the successors of Alexander, Syria in its general acceptance, became a kingdom more powerful than Egypt, and the proper Syria contained in it the Hebrews and Phœnicians, the two most interesting nations of Asia. According to my proposed method, I should proceed, therefore, to the description and history of Syria, under which head the arts and commerce of Phœnicia would deserve particular attention, as illustrating the state, not only of that small district, but of many great countries around it, during the six centuries which elapsed from the reign of Ninus to that of Nebuchadnezzar. But as the Phœnicians had not any share in the transactions which immediately follow in the course of my narrative, and as the Jewish history is too well known to be repeated in a work of this nature, I shall delay my particular survey of Syria, until

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Connexion
of this survey.

¹²² Juvenal describes them graphically, but ill-naturedly.—

Imbelle et inutile vulgus
Parvula fietilibus solidum dare vela
phaselis,
Et brevibus pietæ remis incumbere
testæ.

Satyr, l. xv. v. 126.

And before

Terra malos homines nunc educat atque
que pusillos
Ergo Deus quisunque aspexit, ridet et
odit.

v. 70.

SECT. the invasions and sieges of Nebuchadnezzar naturally direct
 III. the reader's curiosity to that country, particularly to the
 ancient greatness of Tyre; the strenuous industry, bold enter-
 prise, and wonderful attainments of the Phœnicians.

Senache-
 rib's expe-
 dition
 against Ju-
 dæa and
 Egypt.
 B. C. 710.

In deducing the revolutions of the Assyrian empire, we reached firm historic ground with the reign of Senacherib, whose expedition against Judæa and Egypt is highly memorable both in its circumstances and consequences. Egypt was then governed by Sabacus, an Ethiopian¹³⁰, who had granted his alliance to Israel shortly before the remainder of that nation had been transplanted by Shalmanezar into Media¹³¹. Judah, however, still confiding in Egyptian aid, refused to surrender its freedom; in consequence of which refusal, Senacherib invaded that district with a vast army. Having overrun the country and taken several fenced cities, he sent his lieutenants to chastise king Hezekiah in Jerusalem, while in person he advanced southward and laid siege to Pelusium, the key to Egypt. No moment could have been chosen with a better prospect of conquering both kingdoms; Judah was then afflicted with epidemic sickness¹³², and the once prosperous Egypt had become "the staff of a broken reed piercing the hand that leaned on it"¹³³. The Nile, which is the source of health as well as wealth to that country, having failed in the former year to bring its watery tribute from Ethiopia, the canals had degenerated into pestilent ditches, and the territory adjacent to the sea had been converted into a marine marsh¹³⁴. The labour of the husbandman perished for want of refreshing moisture: famine and despair assailed the fishermen of the Nile, and of the lake Mœris, and the numerous classes of artisans¹³⁵ crowding the industrious cities of Thebes and Memphis. The warlike Sabacus, alarmed

¹³⁰ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 137.

¹³¹ See above, p. 65.

¹³² 2 Kings, c. xviii. v. 24. and c.

xx. v. 7, 8.

¹³³ 2 Kings, c. xviii. v. 26.

¹³⁴ Isaiah, c. xix.

¹³⁵ Isaiah, c. xix. In the transla-

tion of Michaelis before me the "Weberstühle" is conformable to the circumstance which I above-mentioned, that the Greeks wove in a standing posture, whereas the Egyptians sat at their work.

by religious terrors ¹³⁶, abdicated the government; and Sethos, high priest of the Memphian god Phthas, stepped into the vacant throne, with just cunning enough to attain power, but without wisdom to exercise it honourably or usefully. His unseasonable rapacity resumed many lands held by military service, about ten acres by each family, and thereby offended the martial casts or clans, at a time when the zeal of this militia was essentially requisite to the public safety ¹³⁷. He was obliged, therefore, to throw himself into his frontier stronghold of Pelusium, with a motley rabble raised on the spur of the occasion, and consisting chiefly of tradesmen and mechanics.

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Before besieging that key to Egypt, Senacherib had spent a short time in taking Lachis, or Lachish, on the southern frontier of Judæa. While employed in the war there, a detachment was sent to Jerusalem. Its commanders proceeded to the walls of the place, under which they were met by Hezekiah's ministers. The Jews were exhorted to send presents in token of submission to the great king, the master of nations, against whose hostility no power on earth or in heaven would avail them. The deputies, consisting of the high steward, the chief judge, and the public secretary, intreated the Assyrian generals to cease from speaking in Hebrew, and to employ their own Syrian dialect, lest their discourse might be understood by the Jewish soldiers on the walls. But Rabshekeh replied in a loud voice, and in the Jews' language, that he had not been sent to the king only, or his minister, but rather to the people at large, to destroy their vain trust in a contemptible prince and his perfidious counsellors ¹³⁸.

Jerusalem
summoned:

The Jews according to Hezekiah's command, kept silence; and the Assyrians hastened to give an account of their reception to Senacherib, who having left the neighbourhood of

The rumour of
Tarako's
march raises
the siege
of Pelusium. B. C.
710.

¹³⁶ Herodot. l. ii. c. 139.

¹³⁷ 2 Kings, c. xviii.

¹³⁸ Id. l. ii. c. 141.

SECT. Lachish, had proceeded to attack Libnah or Pelusium¹³⁹.
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Tarako's
greatness.

Into this place Sethos had thrown himself, as we have said, with an inconsiderable and ill composed army; but was encouraged, as he afterwards gave out, to expect deliverance by a vision from Phthas, whom the Memphians exalted above all gods, and whom the Greeks sadly degraded by transferring to him the name of their own Vulcan, an able artist indeed, but a very contemptible and even ridiculous divinity. We are not informed of any human or divine means used by the priest Sethos, for removing the Assyrian assailants. But Senacherib, we know from Scripture, had not lain long before Pelusium, when a rumour reached his camp¹⁴⁰, that totally disconcerted all his measures. A prince called Tirhakah in Scripture, Tearchos and Tarachos by the Greeks¹⁴¹, had during the disasters of Egypt, been making great conquests in Ethiopia on both sides of the Red Sea. Availing himself of the caravan roads through the broad continent of Africa, he had pursued his victorious career to the shores of the Atlantic, and northwards to the pillars of Hercules¹⁴². Many Nomadic nations of Ethiopia and Arabia had united under his wide spreading dominion; and he had already performed more extensive and more difficult journies, than the march which report now ascribed to him, of penetrating through the desert which joins the two cultivated regions of Arabia, Sabæa and Omanum¹⁴³, and then proceeding from the latter, along the western shore of the Persian gulph, into the rich Babylonian plain¹⁴⁴, and to its capital Nineveh, the proud center of Assyrian power. Upon learning this alarming piece of intelligence, Senacherib determined to return with all possible

¹³⁹ Conf. Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 8.
Herodot. l. ii. c. 141. Joseph. Antiq.

• l. x. c. 1.

¹⁴⁰ Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 7.

¹⁴¹ Conf. Isaiah, *ibid.* and Strabo,
l. i. p. 61. & l. xv. p. 686.

¹⁴² Strabo, *ibid.*

¹⁴³ See above.

¹⁴⁴ See 2 Kings, c. xix. v. 7.
Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 9. with Mich-
aelis' notes.

expedition to the defence of possessions that formed the strength, the ornament, the rich kernel of his empire¹⁴⁵.

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In his way homeward, he once more sent Rabshakeh with a letter to Hezekiah, expressing in that boastful pride which is often a cloak to cowardice, "what the kings of Assyria had done to all lands, by destroying them utterly¹⁴⁶;" and as if he had been apprized of the promises made to the Jews by the prophet Isaiah¹⁴⁷, asking in a tone of contemptuous menace, "Did the gods of the nations deliver those whom my fathers destroyed; Gozan, Karan, Rezeph, and the children of Eden who were in Telassar? Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arphad, and the king of the city of Sephervaim, Henah and Ivah¹⁴⁸?" The event which terminated Senacherib's expedition is related in the following words, "The angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred and fourscore and five thousand;" the morning showed to the terrified king and his attendants, only a hideous heap of carcasses¹⁴⁹. Of the sudden destruction of the Assyrians, profane history gives such an account as, taken in a literal sense, wears the appearance of a childish fable. Herodotus relates, that vast swarms of field rats gnawed to pieces in one night their bow strings, quivers and shield straps, and thereby leaving his men defenceless, subjected Senacherib to a disgraceful rout¹⁵⁰. The disastrous fate of their enemies, the Egyptians ascribed to the prayers of king Sethos, of which they alleged as a convincing proof, the statue of that prince in the Memphian temple of Vulcan, holding a rat in his hand, and with the following memorable inscription, "Let him who beholds me, learn piety to the gods¹⁵¹." In the childishness however of this story, we shall

Agreement
of sacred
and pro-
fane ac-
counts of
the de-
struction of
the Assy-
rians.
B. C. 710.

¹⁴⁵ This part of history is intelligible only on the supposition that Nineveh had the site, which for reasons above given, I have ventured to assign for it.

¹⁴⁶ Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 2.

¹⁴⁷ 2 Kings, c. xix. v. 7.

¹⁴⁸ Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 12, 13, 14.

¹⁴⁹ Id. *ibid.* v. 36.

¹⁵⁰ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 141.

¹⁵¹ Herodot. *ibid.* Conf. Isaiah, c. xix. v. 20, 21, 22.

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perceive the strongest confirmation of the relater's veracity, if we reflect that among the Egyptians, the rat was the hieroglyphic for destruction¹⁵²: and that Herodotus, according to the prevalent fashion of his times in relating the history of Egypt, ascribed to the sign, the power of the thing signified¹⁵³. By a far more sublime metaphor, the Jews referred this signal catastrophe of their enemies to divine agency; by which they were accustomed to explain the havoc made by warring elements, the hot pestilential simoom, the swift destroying blast which, in the Asiatic as well as African deserts, often proves fatal, in a single night, to vast multitudes of the human species¹⁵⁴.

That the plague was on this occasion the instrument employed by the Almighty for punishing a bloodthirsty king, derives some probability from the prevalence of the malady at that time in Jerusalem. Hezekiah himself appears to have been attacked by its worst¹⁵⁵ symptoms, and was saved from death by the particular interposition of providence, for which he returned his acknowledgments in the temple on the third day. Of his sudden recovery a circumstance also agreeing with the well known nature of the plague, a sign had been given by bringing back the shadow ten degrees on the dial of Ahaz; concerning which astronomical wonder, Baladan, general of the troops belonging to Babylon, and also hereditary chief of the Chaldean priests¹⁵⁶, the earliest cultivators of astronomy, and comparatively great proficient in that science, might naturally be expected to desire accurate information. To gain this end, he sent a congratulatory letter to Hezekiah on his recovery. The letter was accompanied with presents; and in its superscription, a clear intimation is afforded of the troubles¹⁵⁷ that assailed Assyria in conse-

Baladan's
letter to
Hezekiah.

¹⁵² Horopoll. l. i. p. 50.

¹⁵³ See above, p. 47.

¹⁵⁴ 2 Samuel, c. xxiv. v. 15 and 16. Jeremiah, c. li. v. 1. For the Simoom wind see Thevenot, and Bruce's Travels, passim, particularly Thevenot, p. ii. b. i. c. 20. and b. ii. c. 16.

¹⁵⁵ 2 Kings, c. xx. v. 7, and seq. It had raged in Samaria a few years before Senacherib's disaster. Josephus, l. ix. c. 14.

¹⁵⁶ 2 Kings, c. xx. v. 12. Conf. Diodor. l. ii. c. 24.

¹⁵⁷ "Senacherib's estate was troubled," Tobit, c. i. v. 15.

quence of the disaster of Senacherib. Baladan who in civil matters had hitherto held only a dependent jurisdiction¹⁵⁸, like many other priestly vassals of whom we have already spoken, assumed the title of king of the Babylonians, in defiance of an odious and disgraced tyrant, from whom, about the same time, the Medes, Armenians, and other great nations ventured also to revolt¹⁵⁹.

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III.

He assumes the title of king of Babylon. Revolt of the Medes.

At his return to Nineveh, Senacherib could not fail to be provoked at finding the vanity of the rumour which had deceived him. He was enraged to madness at the rebellion of his subjects: but a tyrant after the loss of his army is a serpent without its sting. He vented however his merciless rage against the smaller prey that he was still able to devour, particularly the Jews in Nineveh¹⁶⁰, whose brethren had occasioned his misfortunes. But in the short space of fifty five days, he was slain by the conspiracy of his two elder sons, in the temple of his god Nisroth¹⁶¹. Their parricide was only useful to the public; for the youngest brother, Esarhaddon, at the unanimous request of the court and country, mounted the vacant throne.

Senacherib murdered. B. C. 709.

The character of Esarhaddon fully justified the general predilection in his favour. His valour and generosity¹⁶² together with the vast treasures still contained within the palace of Nineveh, speedily supplied him with a new army. We are not informed of the means which he employed either by war or negociation for reducing the rebellious provinces. But from the moment of his elevation we hear nothing more of an upstart monarchy in Babylon, under a priest who aspired to be the equal of his king.

Esarhaddon's glorious reign. B. C. 709—668.

The parricidal brothers of Esarhaddon had fled to Armenia; and as they are said to have received lands¹⁶³ from the

His invasion of Palestine.

¹⁵⁸ 2 Kings, c. xvii. v. 24. Senacherib's predecessor appears there as king of Babylon, as well as of Nineveh.—Conf. Diodor. ubi supra.

¹⁵⁹ Herodotus, l. i. c. 95, & Moses Choronens, l. i. p. 22.

¹⁶⁰ Tobit, c. i. v. 18, 19, 20.

¹⁶¹ 2 Kings, c. xix. v. 36 & 37, and Moses Choron. ibid.

¹⁶² "The great and noble Assnapper," his name in Ezra; c. iv. v. 10.

¹⁶³ Moses Choronens, ibid.

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king of that country, the rebellious satrap who had fortified himself amidst the mountainous sources of the Euphrates and Araxes¹⁶⁴, must already have assumed the royal title. For recovering the allegiance of Armenia, and the incomparably finer province of Media, Esarhaddon trusted to the renown of his arms in prosecuting the war in which Assyria was already involved with Egypt and Syria. In the latter country, Assyrian garrisons still kept possession of many strong holds; and particularly of Azotus or Ashdod, which had been one of the five capital cities of the Philistines¹⁶⁵, and was the principal key of Syria towards Egypt. Tarako the great Ethiopian whose name had been terrible in those western countries, was no more; and his resistless Nomadic followers, with the loss of their general and paymaster, lost also their union and discipline, and fell asunder with a rapidity greater than that with which they had been assembled. Sethos reigned in Egypt through the interest of the priests and the favour of the multitude; for his unjust treatment of the soldiers was too provoking ever to be forgiven by them¹⁶⁶. In this posture of affairs, Esarhaddon directed his arms westward. It should seem that he made a further and considerable transportation of mutinous Israelites¹⁶⁷; which confirms what has been already observed, that the removal of the whole people from their country had never been intended by the kings of Assyria¹⁶⁸. The principal *Citizens* had been transplanted, men who might prove dangerous at home by their intrigues, and useful abroad by their skill in arts and adroitness in affairs. But the fields had been still left to the vine dressers and husbandmen; many of whom now mutinying against a foreign yoke, were forcibly dragged in captivity to the East, and more submissive peasants from the Assyrian territories, particularly Babylon and Cutha substituted in

¹⁶⁴ See above.¹⁶⁵ 1 Samuel, c. vi. v. 17.¹⁶⁶ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 141.¹⁶⁷ Ezra, c. iv. v. 7.¹⁶⁸ See above p. 65

their vacant fields¹⁶⁹. Judah was next assailed by Esarhaddon with more decisive success, than had yet attended the Assyrian arms in that kingdom. The impious Manasseh, who had strangely degenerated from his father Hezekiah, was defeated in battle, pursued, made captive among the thorns, and carried in fetters to Babylon¹⁷⁰. But adversity so greatly improved the character of this Jewish king, that he became a new man; and the sincerity of his repentance under the just chastisement of the Almighty, was followed by the peculiar favour of Esarhaddon, who could not fail to discern the advantage that might accrue to his Egyptian expedition from placing a warlike and active prince, bound to him by the highest obligations, in the vassal throne of Palestine. Manasseh was therefore reinstated in the kingdom of Judah, and received in addition that of Israel, holding both countries as homager to the great monarch of Assyria, and transmitting them in that form, after a reign of fifty-five years, to his son the generous and ill-fated Josiah¹⁷¹.

Of Esarhaddon's Egyptian expedition, which, according to the vulgar estimation of merit, must have been the noblest exploit in his reign, we know only that he sacked the ancient city of Thebes, called in Scripture the populous No¹⁷²; a capital built "by the infinite strength of Egypt and Ethiopia," and celebrated from remote¹⁷³ ages for that magnificence which still shines in its ruins¹⁷⁴. Such an event indicates the deep wounds¹⁷⁵ inflicted on Egypt during the reign of Sethos, in consequence of which that kingdom remained a prey, for twenty years, to divisions and anarchy until the aris-

SECT.
III.
Defeats
Manasseh
and accepts
him for his
vassal.

His Egyptian Expedition.

¹⁶⁹ Prideaux justly observes, that Esarhaddon could not have done this, if he had not been king of Babylon; but he forgets that he had denied Shalmaneser to be king of Babylon, though that prince also planted Samaria with Babylonians. 2 Kings, c. xvii. v. 24. Conf. Old and New Testament connected, B. i. p. 42.

¹⁷⁰ 2 Chronicles, c. xxxiii. v. 11.

¹⁷¹ Chronicles, *ibid.* and Josephus Antiq. x. 4.

¹⁷² Nabum, c. iii. v. 8. with Michaelis' notes.

¹⁷³ Homer, *Iliad*, l. ix. v. 382.

¹⁷⁴ Norden's *Voyage and Plates*, No. 102—113. inclusive.

¹⁷⁵ Isaiah, *ibid.*

SECT. III. tocracy of twelve kings not less turbulent than that of the Beys in modern times devolved, as we have explained above, into the single hand of Psammetichus¹⁷⁶.

His firm
yet mild
govern-
ment.

The predatory conquest of Egypt only attests Esarhaddon's power; his goodness is illustrated in his behaviour towards the two branches of the Hebrews, whether remaining in their native country, or transplanted to Nineveh and other cities of the East. The atonement which he made to that nation for the cruelties of Senacherib affords no small proof that his general government united lenity with firmness¹⁷⁷. It must have been conducted with great ability, since during his long reign we hear little of the troubles of the empire, which began under his father, and which revived with dreadful effect under the government of his son.

His son Ne-
buchadono-
sor—war
with the
Medes.
B. C. 667.

Nebuchadonosor, for this is the name or title of the son of Esarhaddon, was involved in an obstinate and bloody war with the Medes. This great nation had immemorially subsisted in many distinct and warlike clans, scattered over the finest province of Upper Asia, each patriarchal tribe inhabiting its populous village, and for the most part fertile valley¹⁷⁸. The Medes had long sent their proportion of troops and tribute to Nineveh, although a people circumstanced as they were, would be easily tempted to withhold those contributions on every prospect of impunity. The misfortunes of Senacherib formed a crisis favourable for rebellion. The Medes expelled their Assyrian viceroy, and acknowledged no authority but that of their own judges, heads each of his respective tribe, of which that governed by Dejoces was distinguished by its valour and numbers, as was their judge himself by his preeminence in wisdom¹⁷⁹.

Dejoces
king of
Media.
700 B. C.

Through the equity and promptitude of his decisions, Dejoces drew the causes of neighbouring clans to his tribu-

¹⁷⁶ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 151 & seq.

¹⁷⁸ Herodotus, l. i. c. 96. and

¹⁷⁷ Tobit, c. i. v. 21, 22. Ezra, c. iv. v. 10.

Strabo, c. xi. p. 520 & seq.

¹⁷⁹ Herodot. *ibid*.

nal, and was chosen king of the Medes through his ability in exercising one of the most indispensable functions of royal power. We know not by what means he contrived to avoid hostilities with Esarhaddon; but we are informed that the successor of this great prince invaded Media, defeated and slew Dejoces, and sacked his upstart capital of Ecbatana. Phraortes, the son of Dejoces, assuming the command of the Medes, became in turn the aggressor; drove the Assyrians from Media, wrested from them Persis, the proper Persia; and perished in an expedition against Nineveh the bulwark of their empire¹⁸⁰. But Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, lived to revenge the death of his father and grandfather on the effeminate son of Nebuchodonosor, the last Assyrian king of the house of Ninus. Before the reign of Agradotus¹⁸¹, who assumed the name of Cyrus, there was not any prince in Ariana, that is, in any of the countries east of mount Zagros, that equals the historic fame of this illustrious Mede. To Cyaxares his countrymen acknowledged themselves indebted for harmonizing their formerly ill appointed armies into regular bodies of pikemen, cavalry, and archers. With such improved instruments of victory, he extended his dominions northward to the Euxine and the river Halys, assailed the heart of Assyria now encompassed with his arms, from the eastern wall of Media, to the mountainous confines of Cilicia; and though long interrupted in his progress by the Scythian invasion above mentioned, resumed his warfare against Nineveh with fresh ardour.

That city and empire was then governed by Sardanapalus, a name coupled in our fancies with the utmost extravagance of effeminacy and profligacy. Amidst the first transactions to which the indolence of this voluptuary gave occasion, we read of an attempt to rifle by means of a mine that should extend to the heart of his palace, the vast subterranean¹⁸² treasures, which his ancestors had collected from the spoils of vanquished enemies¹⁸³. We next find

¹⁸⁰ Herodot. l. i. c. 102.

¹⁸¹ Strabo, l. xv. p. 729.

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¹⁸² Herodotus, l. ii. c. 150.

¹⁸³ Isaiah and Nahum, passim.

SECT.
III.

The history of Nebopolassar and Cyaxares, the same with that of Belesys and Arbaces.

the revolt of Nebopolassar¹⁸⁴, the hereditary chief of the Chaldean priests at Babylon, and as such also the hereditary satrap of that important district¹⁸⁵, who seems to have been encouraged by the careless sottishness of Sardanapalus to resume the royal title which his father Baladan had usurped, after the disgraceful defeat of Senacharib. To maintain this independence, the revolted priest, who is described as a person of much cunning and dexterity¹⁸⁶, courted the friendship of Cyaxares, and obtained an alliance with that prince, whose object, issue, and incidents, so perfectly coincide with those of the far famed conspiracy between Belesys the Babylonian and Arbaces the Mede¹⁸⁷, that it is impossible on a careful comparison not to regard it as one and the same transaction¹⁸⁸: a transaction ever

¹⁸⁴ Euseb. Chronic. p. 46. and Syncell. Chronograph. p. 210.

¹⁸⁵ During the dominion of the house of Ninus over Assyria, the hereditary priests of Babylon maintained a subordinate royalty in that city, agreeing in nature, as we shall see, with the power of the sacerdotal *Juvaras* in Lesser Asia under the Macedonian and Roman empires. Conf. Strabo, l. xv. p. 557. Diodorus, l. ii. s. 23. and 2 Kings, c. xviii. v. 2.

¹⁸⁶ Diodorus, l. ii. s. 28.

¹⁸⁷ Diodorus, *ibid*.

¹⁸⁸ According to the received chronology, Arbaces and Belesys destroyed Sardanapalus and his capital 820 years before Christ. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 737. speaks positively as to the total and final destruction of Nineveh *ἡ πᾶσις ὡς ἀπαρχήμα*. His authority is supported by that of Diodorus. Yet a century after this supposed demolition, the prophet Nahum denounces against Nineveh the wrath of heaven. See Nahum, c. ii. and c. iii. throughout, and particularly c. iii. v. 8. which ascertains the Chronology. These prophecies, however, confirm Herodotus's report, (a report the more

likely to be true, because he wrote a particular history of Assyria,) according to which Nineveh was destroyed by Cyaxares and the Medes 606 years before Christ. Herodot. l. i. c. 106. Conf. Tobit, c. xiv. v. 15. and Judith, c. i. v. 16. Of Belesys, whose name usurps the place of Nebopolassar, we know nothing. Prideaux in his Old and New Testament connected, v. i. p. 2. supposes him to be Nabonassar the first king of Babylon in Ptolemy's canon: But of this first king of Babylon (a high priest most probably who affected kingly power), we have not a single particular in history, except the era called by his name, agreeing with the year 747 before Christ. Instead of Cyaxares and Nebopolassar, independent princes, we find, indeed, in Ctesias (apud Diodor. l. ii. s. 28.) Arbaces and Belesys revolted satraps. But as such Ctesias would find them represented in the courtly annals of Persia which he copied, if the Persians, as it is said, flattered their latter kings as the lineal and perpetual successors of the universal monarchs of Asia. Conf. Daniel, c. ix. and D'Herbelot Art. Persis.

memorable, since it fulfilled the prophecies against Nineveh, and demolished a great capital, and the most durable empire that ever subsisted in the ancient world. SECT.
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In completing the object of his Assyrian warfare, Cyaxares had great difficulties to encounter. The art of attacking fortified places was still extremely imperfect. Psammetichus, king of Egypt, had availed himself of the disorders in the Assyrian empire for gaining Azotus, the principal Assyrian bulwark on the Mediterranean, but had difficultly conquered the place after a blockade of twenty-nine years¹⁸⁹; and Sardanapalus, king of Nineveh, though a slave to beastly appetites, prepared with the fierceness also of a wild beast to defend his polluted den¹⁹⁰. At the head of a great army he is said to have thrice repelled the invaders. But a single defeat reduced him to the cowardly resolution of shutting himself up within his walls; while his forces, still more numerous than those of the enemy, were committed to his general Salaiman; for thus the Greeks wrote the Assyrian name of Shalman or Solyman¹⁹¹. The Canal joining the Euphrates and Tigris was dyed red¹⁹² with the blood of this general and his army. But Sardanapalus still deemed himself secure in virtue of an ancient prophecy, that the city should not be taken "until it was hostilely assaulted by the river¹⁹³." In the third year of the siege this enigma was explained; for the Euphrates swollen to fury by an unusual contribution of melted snows from Armenia, destroyed a portion of the walls two miles in extent, and Nineveh was reduced "to a pool of water¹⁹⁴." The despairing tyrant then knew all to be lost; set fire to his palace; and perished in the vast funeral pile of his empire, with his women and eunuchs, his trinkets and treasures¹⁹⁵.

¹⁸⁹ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 157.

¹⁹⁰ Diodorus, l. ii. s. 25.

¹⁹¹ Id. c. 26. Conf. Nahum, c. i. v. 137. with Michaelis's notes.

¹⁹² Diodor. *ibid*.

¹⁹³ *Εαν μη ποταμον δ ποταμος τη πολει γενται πολιμος.* Diodorus, l. ii. c. 26. Conf. Nahum, c. ii. v. 6. "The

gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved."

¹⁹⁴ Nahum, c. ii. v. 8. in Michaelis's translation. Conf. Diodor. l. ii. s. 27.

¹⁹⁵ Diodor. *ibid*. Conf. Nahum, c. iii. v. 15. "In thy strong-holds or palace shall the fire devour thee."

The seeming contradictions reconciled. Nineveh taken by the Medes. B. C. 606.

SECT.
III.
Babylon
becomes
the capital
of Assyria.
B. C. 605.

The Medes thus became more decidedly than before, the great dominant nation in the East. But Nebopolassar their useful ally, was confirmed in the usurped kingdoms of Babylonia; and as Cyaxares in resentment of his father's death before the walls of Nineveh, totally demolished that capital¹⁹⁶, Babylon from a seat of commerce, of science, and of superstition, grew into a place of arms, the main bulwark of Assyrian power¹⁹⁷. The near vicinity of the old and the new capital is clearly indicated in a proposal of the artful priest of Babylon, immediately after the taking of Nineveh. Desirous, it is said, of appropriating the precious metals which he well knew would be found in the ashes of the royal palace, he begged leave (on pretence of a vow made during the dangers of the siege,) to transport the huge ruins to the place of his own residence, and his request was immediately granted¹⁹⁸; a request which must have appeared altogether extravagant, had Nineveh, instead of being situate within fifty miles of Babylon, with a canal of communication between them, stood three hundred miles distant on the eastern side of the Tigris¹⁹⁹.

¹⁹⁶ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 737. Before this total demolition, Nineveh had subsisted six hundred and twenty four years under thirty two kings, from Ninus to Sardanapalus, both inclusively. This chronology leaves nearly twenty years for the reign of each king: the commonly received chronology on the other hand, makes the city and empire of Nineveh to have lasted 1312 years, which gives the monstrous average of forty one years, for the reign of each sovereign.

¹⁹⁷ Herodotus, l. i. c. 178. Conf. l. i. c. 106.

¹⁹⁸ Diodorus, l. ii. s. 28.

¹⁹⁹ It is said in Tobit, c. vi. v. i. "And when they set out on their journey" (that is to go from Nineveh eastward to Ecbatana and Rages) "they came in the evening to the river Tigris." By a bend in the

river, the road indeed might rejoin the Tigris, but the expression in Tobit is quite natural, if "the city of three days' journey," stood on the royal canal, the Nahrmalka, between the Tigris and Euphrates. In this neighbourhood, Xenophon found, two centuries afterwards, the great city Sitacé, Anabas, l. ii. p. 283; and Ives describes nearly in the same position, Nimrod's Tower, as it is called, one hundred and twenty six feet high, and one hundred in diameter. It stands nine miles west of Bagdad; consists of bricks mixed with reeds; and is on all sides surrounded with ruins; circumstances agreeing well with Diodorus's position of Nineveh in his account of the decisive battle, and also with the following words of Herodotus. "Babylonia is like Egypt, perpetually intersected by canals;

From the time that the Assyrians carried their conquests SECT. III. to the shores of the Mediterranean, the Egyptians had every thing to fear from their ambition or their vengeance. Psammetichus, the king of Egypt, who in the last stage of his reign of nearly half a century, had effected the conquest of Azotus, was succeeded by his son, the Pharaoh Necho of Scripture, and the Necos of Greek historians; a prince of deep policy and daring enterprise. Disdaining the superstitious scruples of his countrymen against a seafaring life, Necos constructed harbours and equipped fleets on the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; and applied to the Phœnicians, as the people best skilled in distant navigation, for persons willing to undertake a long voyage of discovery along the African coast. The Phœnicians, who, as already mentioned, had immemorially traded in Egyptian and Assyrian wares²⁰⁰, had also established factories in those countries, particularly in the cities of Thebes and Memphis, the successive capitals of Egypt, and according to custom, these factories were under the protection of temples erected in honour of the foreign Venus²⁰¹. From among such colonists, or their correspondents, Necos speedily found instruments fit for his purpose. The Phœnicians took their departure from an Egyptian harbour on the Red Sea, reached and passed the straits of Babelmandeb, in the space of forty days; in that of two years sailed round Africa to the pillars of Hercules, and then pursuing their voyage two months longer through the well known Mediterranean, returned about the middle of the third year into Egypt²⁰². The principal danger in this expedition was that of starving on the inhospitable shores of the southern continent. But this difficulty was provided for. Having laid in a sufficient store of seeds, the Phœnicians sowed them at the proper seasons²⁰³; and as in many parts

Necos king of Egypt. B. C. 616—601.

His bold undertaking—circumnavigation of Africa.

the greatest, which is navigable for vessels of a large size, joins another river, the Tigris, on which was situate Nineveh," l. i. c. 95. The words naturally bring to mind the Nahr malka and Bagdad. The expressiveness of Herodotus's style always suggests the notion which

he wishes to convey.

²⁰⁰ Herodot. l. i. c. 1.

²⁰¹ Ib. l. ii. c. 112.

²⁰² Ib. l. iv. c. 42. Conf. Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 682.

²⁰³ Σπριγιστον την γην ὡς ἔτασσεν, &c. Herodot. *ibid*.

SECT. of Africa, the corn sown in July, is reaped in September,
 III. the delay in procuring food necessary to the continuance of the voyage, could not be longer than necessary for repairs and refreshments. But should three months be allowed for the stoppage each autumn, full time will remain for the completion of the undertaking within the assigned period, even at the slow rate of ancient navigation. Both the Phœnician and Greek ships seem to have avoided keeping the sea in dark nights; they both advanced at the mean rate of little more than forty British miles daily. But from the nature of their construction, particularly the flatness of their bottoms, which allowed galleys containing two and three hundred men, to be easily hauled on shore, they were much better adapted to coasting voyages, than modern vessels of far inferior burden²⁰⁴.

Canal from
 the Red
 Sea to the
 Mediter-
 ranean.

Another undertaking by which Necos attempted to signalize his reign, was the drawing of a canal from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean: a design which Sesostris is said to have begun, which Necos resumed but abandoned, and which Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second successor of Alexander in Egypt, is said to have happily accomplished²⁰⁵.

He march-
 es against
 Assyria.

But these great enterprises did not prevent Necos from paying due attention to the important revolution, which, instead of an odious despot dissolved in pleasure, had established in the new capital of Assyria a victorious usurper inflamed by ambition. With great activity of preparation, he collected a numerous army of warlike strangers, and unwarlike Egyptians, and being master of Azotus, the key to the holy land, marched through that country to assail on the Euphrates, the yet unconsolidated power of Nebopolasser and Babylon²⁰⁶, whose allies the Medes were still fully occupied in extinguishing the embers of the Scythian war. But in

²⁰⁴ Their expedition accordingly was completely successful. "Thus was Africa for the first time circumnavigated." Herodot. *ibid*.

²⁰⁵ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 804. Of this more will be said hereafter.

²⁰⁶ Josephus *Antiq. Judaic.* l. x. c. 6.

the district of Samaria, Necos was encountered²⁰⁷ by Josiah, king of Israel as well as Judah, in virtue of the grant of Esarhaddon to his grandfather Manasseh, but who, according to oriental maxims above explained, should seem to have considered himself as homager rather to the Assyrian nation, than to the person or family of the king²⁰⁸. He passed at least, not only as an obedient, but zealous vassal under the sovereign jurisdiction of Nebopolassar; and with a spirit congenial to the warmth with which he exerted himself for the purity of religious worship, determined to show fidelity to his lord paramount by resisting the Egyptian invasion. But this generous prince, whose virtues deserved a better fate, was defeated and slain in the plain of Megiddo in Samaria²⁰⁹.

Necos, without halting to make conquests in Palestine, hastened by rapid marches to northern Mesopotamia, and having repelled the Babylonians, who opposed his passage of the Euphrates at Thapsacus, made himself master of the important city of Carchemish or Circesium²¹⁰ on the confluence of the Chaboras with that great river. Having garrisoned a place well situate for facilitating further conquests, he returned in a few months to Palestine, assaulted and took Jerusalem, then known by its eastern name Kadytis "the Holy," deposed the new king whom the Jews had elected, a son of their admired Josiah, and substituted in his stead Jehoiakim another son of that much lamented prince, on condition of an annual tribute²¹¹ valued at fifty-two thousand pounds sterling.

SECT.
III.

Josiah in
opposing
his pro-
gress, slain
at Megid-
do. B. C.
608.

Necos
takes and
garrisons
Circesium.
B. C. 602.

Renders
Jerusalem
tributary.

²⁰⁷ 2 Kings, c. xxiii. and 2 Chronicles, c. xxxv.

²⁰⁸ In this manner Netocris, (of whom hereafter,) stood in the place of the ancient kings of Assyria. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 106. and c. 185.

²⁰⁹ 2 Chronicles, c. xxxv. v. 22. and Josephus, l. x. c. 15. Herodotus, l. i. c. 159. says the battle was fought at Magdolus. There is

a place of this name in Antioch's Itinerary, distant 12 miles from Pelusium and the Egyptian frontier. It is mentioned under the name of Migdol, Exodus, c. xiv. v. 2. and Jeremiah, c. xli. v. 14.

²¹⁰ Josephus Antiq. l. x. c. 6.

²¹¹ 2 Kings, c. xxiii. and 2 Chronicles, c. xxxvi.

SECT.

III.

Nebuchadnezzar associated to his father's government.

The rapid success of Necos made Nebopolassar, who was himself *far* advanced in years, associate to his government his son Nebuchadnezzar, a name equally illustrious though not equally terrible in sacred and profane history, since Greek writers, in their occasional mention of him, prefer his successful valour to that of their greatest heroes²¹². During the transactions of Necos in Palestine, the young Babylonian had been sharpening a weapon of defence destined to be converted by him into an instrument of decisive victories and important conquests.

He forms an engine of defence in Mesopotamia.—Description of that country.

The wide-spreading region of Mesopotamia, northward of the narrow but rich and populous territory contiguous to Babylon and Nineveh, was sometimes referred by Greek historians to the different countries from which it appeared to have been peopled. The northern parts were frequently called Armenia: the southern were ascribed to Syria; and the great central desert, to Arabia. The whole tract of land formed, as it were, a great triangle, whose summit was the narrow isthmus near Nineveh before described; whose sides were the Tigris and Euphrates; and whose base reposed on the chain of mount Masius, its common frontier with Armenia. In the northern division and near vicinity of the mountains, we are already acquainted with the history of Zobah, or Nisibis, a city which we shall see embellished as well as strongly fortified by the first Syrian successor of Alexander, under the name of Antioch, and distinguished from other cities of that name by the epithet Mygdonian, from the river Mygdonius which washed its walls²¹³. After the destruction of the Grecian kings of the East, Nisibis resumed its old oriental appellation, denoting a military post or place of arms, and as such, we shall see hereafter, was long occupied by the Romans, forming their main bulwark against the Parthians. Mesopo-

²¹² Megasthenes apud Joseph. Cont. Apion. Conf. Antiq. Judaic. l. x. c. 11. and Strabo, l. xv. p. 678. He calls him Nauokodrosorus.

²¹³ Πιλαγίζον το περι τη τειχεῖ χαριον. Julian Orat. 1. de Nisib. p. 27.

tamia in approaching the shores of its great rivers, changed suddenly from a desert to a country of considerable fertility, and was early improved by agriculture, and planted with cities, which, being enlarged and adorned by Alexander and his successors, received universally Grecian names, though really of Asiatic origin. Carthæ, as well as Carchemis, or Circesium, of both which we have already spoken, retained enough of their primitive sound to evince their true extraction; a purer Grecian origin seems indicated in Edessa, Anthemusias, Nicephorium, Apamea, and other places of less note, though many of these also had subsisted at periods long anterior to the Macedonian dominion in Asia.

SECT.
III.

The watery and mountainous parts of Mesopotamia have undergone many changes, but the dry central region has remained uniformly the same, inhabited by roving Arabs, mixed, as we shall see, occasionally with fiercer wanderers from Scythia. The nature of the country, indeed, admitted of none but Nomades for its masters. It was a vast unvaried plain, destitute of trees and rivers, but abounding in worm-wood and other strong-scented shrubs²¹⁴. It produced vast flocks of a bird called Otis, a short and heavy flier, yet its flesh of the highest flavour; and not smaller troops of ostriches, which, however, it was difficult to catch, so nimbly did they skim the ground, using their wings skilfully as sails to navigate the sandy ocean. The most desert spots of Mesopotamia were enlivened by herds of wild goats and wild asses²¹⁵ as they are called by Xenophon, but the animal itself is described by Aristotle²¹⁶, and recognised by our naturalists in the Dsiggetai, no longer seen in those southern parts, and now frequent in the remote northern deserts of eastern Tartary²¹⁷. The Dsiggetai outstripped the swiftest horse; but the nimble fugitive was entrapped by gins, or caught by artful and long continued pursuit²¹⁸. Armenia and other

The Mesopotamian desert.

²¹⁴ Xenoph. Anabas, l. i. p. 255.
edit. Leuncl.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Histor. Animal. l. vi. c. 36.

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²¹⁷ Pallas. Neue Nordische Beytrage.

²¹⁸ Xenoph. p. 256.

SECT. III. neighbouring provinces had recently been invaded, as we have seen, from Scythia, whose roving hordes still lay in watch, as it were, to renew their ravages in southern Asia. Master of the spoils of Nineveh, Nebuchadnezzar was possessed of a magnet calculated to attract greater swarms than ever from this vast northern hive. They were divided into many different tribes often hostile to each other, but the name of Chaldæans was bestowed on all those whom the valour and generosity of Nebuchadnezzar drew into his service, whether because great part of them really descended from that region of Taurus called Chaldæa, whose natives the Chalybeans stood in the same relation as armourers²¹⁹ to the Scythians, that the Turks are known afterwards to have borne to the Tartars²²⁰, or because a colony of those Chalybeans or Chaldæans about a century before this period, was established in the south-western district of Babylonia, and thereby induced to betake themselves to a settled agricultural life²²¹. It might naturally be expected that the great body of the nation would be called by that name already most familiar in southern Asia, and which must have prevailed from the earliest antiquity, since the sacerdotal cast in Babylon, priests of Belus, men of polished manners and high attainments²²², were connected, at least in name, with the rude mountaineers between the Euxine and Caspian, a nation more stubborn than the iron which they forged²²³. That branches of mankind so dissimilar in manners and character, really proceeded from the same stock, history does not warrant us to assert; but there is the surest testimony that the conquering Chaldees, of whom Nebuchadnezzar became general and king, were a northern people, Scythians²²⁴ by blood and country, in their manners, habits, and merciless fury. With this instrument of victory we shall see him establish at Babylon an empire

Nebuchadnezzar collects the Scythians who had fled thither.

Why called generally Chaldæans.

²¹⁹ Xenoph. Anab. i. v. p. 354. and Strabo, l. xii. p. 549.

²²⁰ See above, p. 42. Conf. Abulghazi Khan Hist. Genealog. des Tartars, p. ii. c. 5.

²²¹ Isaiah, c. xxiii. p. 13. Conf.

Jeremiah, c. i. v. 13.

²²² Diodorus, l. ii. c. 29. & seq.

²²³ Xenoph. and Strabo, *ibid*.

²²⁴ Jeremiah, c. i. v. 13. and c. xv. v. 12.

nearly commensurate in the west and south with what was to be the future extension of Saracen power. The Medes, after the destruction of Nineveh, reigned without a rival in the East; and as their incursions reached the Greek colonies on the Euxine, the name of the Medes chiefly is conspicuous in Greek history, while the contemporary renown of Nebuchadnezzar was far more terrible among the Jews, the Phœnicians, and other inhabitant of Syria.

SECT.
III.

Why Nebuchadnezzar little noticed in Greek history.

With Cyaxares, or the Medes, through whose cooperations his father had obtained independent sovereignty, Nebuchadnezzar it should seem, during his reign of forty-five years, had never any hostile collision. His first undertaking was the recovery of Circesium from the Egyptians, an enterprise for which, as Necos had strongly fortified the place, the style of Scythian war might appear to be very imperfectly adapted. But Nebuchadnezzar, besides being aided in the siege by his more skilful Babylonians, was one of those extraordinary men, who, like some Tartar conquerors in modern times, have rendered their barbarous followers not less persevering in industry than they are naturally prompt in action: who taught them to build walls and bridges, to construct engines of war, in a word, to perform all those laborious tasks²²⁵, independently of which mere prowess in battle never made a great conqueror. Necos, however, had time to come to the assistance of Circesium with the united strength of his allies; Libyans and Ethiopians, cavalry and chariots, archers and spearmen, all the incongruous assemblage²²⁶ of party coloured Africa. In the two armies respectively, the fierce Nomades were preeminent, Ethiopians and Scythians, hardened offspring of burning sands, and bleak deserts, prepared to join in a merciless conflict of which the incidents are rather indicated than described, but indicated by such picturesque symbols, as surpass in power and effect the most ample narrative. The overflowing numbers of the Egyptians are

Nebuchadnezzar marches to Circesium. His army. B. C. 605.

The battle of Circesium between Nebuchadnezzar and Necos. B. C. 605.

²²⁵ See Cherefedden's Life of Tamerlane, throughout. ²²⁶ Jeremiah, c. xxv. v. 9.

SECT. represented by the inundation of their river²²⁷. But Nebuchadnezzar stays their impetuous tide, towering like mount Tabor²²⁸ above the adjacent plain, or Carmel resisting the sea, and bidding defiance to its raging waves²²⁹. The great dragon of the Nile darts forth with his rattling serpents; but the Chaldeans hew down their wood²³⁰, bare their lurking places, and thus render those wily and envenomed monsters a bloody prey to the parting steel.

Victory of
Nebuchad-
nezzar.

In this figurative language we discern the ruinous defeat of Necos. Circesium was recovered; the Egyptians were pursued through Syria; their countrymen were expelled from the strong-holds which they had occupied there: and, with the illustrious exceptions of Jerusalem and Tyre, Nebuchadnezzar gained the whole of Syria from the Euphrates to the river of Egypt; a magnificent name for the shallow torrent of Sihor²³¹, forming the common boundary of Egypt, Palestine, and the stony Arabia.

²²⁷ Jeremiah, c. xxvi. v. 8.

²²⁸ Ibid. v. 18.

²²⁹ Ezekiel, c. xxix. v. 3.

²³⁰ Jeremiah, c. xli. v. 23.

²³¹ Genesis, c. xv. v. 10. Joshua, c. xv. v. 4. Conf. Hieronym, in Amos, c. vi. 1 Kings, c. viii. v. 65.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY

OF

ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION IV.

Nebuchadnezzar's extensive Conquests in Africa. His invasion of Syria.

Description and History of that Country. Babylonish Captivity. Importance of the Jews in Macedonian History. The two Tyres. Commercial Connexions of the Phœnicians. Tartessus. The Cassiterides. Ophir. Saba. Political State of the Phœnicians. Their Manufactures and Inventions. Destruction of the great Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar. His Invasion of Egypt. History of the East between the Reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander. Babylon. Magnitude, Populousness, Manufactures, Commerce, and Manners.

FROM the era of Nebuchadnezzar's victory over Necos at Circesium, his reign of nearly half a century consisted chiefly of a long series of distant invasions, fierce encounters, laborious campaigns, and persevering sieges. Emulous of Tarako the Ethiopian, he spread his dominion over both sides of the Red Sea; rendered Egypt tributary; and pervaded the broad extent of Africa to the pillars of Hercules¹. In these perpetual expeditions, many a rich temple, the seat of traffic and superstition, fell a prey to his rapacious followers, and to his own unprincipled purpose of decking the new capital of Assyria with the spoils of every strong-hold whose opulence provoked his enmity. But we are informed of the event only, without learning the incidents in this remote and comparatively bar-

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Nebuchadnezzar's extensive conquests in Africa.

¹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 637. Conf. Ezekiel, c. xxx. and xxxix

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barous, warfare. A deeper interest is excited by his invasion of Syria. He is the first prince who reduced into subjection all the various divisions of that country, destined collectively, as we shall see hereafter, to form a powerful Greek kingdom under the dynasty of the Seleucidæ, descendants of Seleucus Nicator, the most fortunate of Alexander's captains.

His invasion of Syria.—Prior history of that country.

Long preceding this new dynasty on the banks of the Orontes, the native Syrians had cultivated arts, and attained opulence. They were tributaries to the warlike David, king of Israel; and after the misfortunes of the house of David, they submitted to the kings of Nineveh. The interval between these calamitous eras formed that period of Syrian splendour; in which, Hadad and Hazael successive "kings of Syria at Damascus," having obtained a paramount jurisdiction over neighbouring cities², were occasionally employed against them as instruments of divine chastisement³. During the space of an hundred years, the names of Hadad and Hazael so terrible to the Hebrews, were proportionally revered by the Syrians, who finally enrolled them among their gods, and continued as such to worship them even down to the reign of the Roman emperor Vespasian⁴. With those brilliant reigns, the glory of Damascus set: the Syrians sunk in superstition and softness, ceased for ever to be the hunters, and continued thenceforward the unresisting prey; but the Phœnicians long established on their coasts, and the Jews possessing part of the inland country, will demand attention in the immediately following, and in many subsequent parts of this work; besides that the peculiarities and prerogatives of Jerusalem give to it a real and permanent interest surpassing the transient glory of the greatest monarchies. It is

² Comp. 1 Kings, c. xv. v. 20. and c. xxi. v. 1.

³ 2 Kings, c. xiii. v. 3.

⁴ Μέχρι νυν αὐτοὶ τι ὁ Ἀδαδ καὶ Ἀζαυλὸς ὡς θεοὶ τιμῶνται. Josephus Antiq. l. ix. c. 14. p. 404. Mr. Gibbon, therefore, is mistaken when in

speaking of deification; he says "the successors of Alexander were the first objects of this impious and servile mode of adulation." Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. i. c. 3.

It, therefore, briefly to describe the characteristic features of a country that continued the scene of memorable transactions. SECT.
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In the whole of its extent of four hundred miles embracing the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, Syria is roughened by snowy mountains, running for the most part parallel to the sea, and to each other, and sending forth innumerable branches, which sometimes terminate abruptly, but oftener gradually subside into warm and well watered vallies. Towards the middle of the broad line, Libanus and Anti Libanus, inclosing the district of Coelosyria, of which Damascus was the capital, rise to the height of nine thousand feet, an altitude double to that of Benneves the highest mountain in Scotland, but little more than one half the elevation of Mount Blanc, the loftiest in the Alps. The region of Libanus overtopping⁵ all the country on either side, separates the waters of Syria, and thereby clearly distinguishes into large and bold groups the divisions of its geography. From the heart⁶ of those mountains the Orontes flows northward fifteen days' journey, before it joins the Mediterranean: and about one half that space, the Jordan⁷ runs to the south, until it mixes its sweet waters with the bitterness of the lake Asphaltites, called from its pestiferous qualities the Dead Sea⁸. The northern valley of the Orontes with all the cultivable country inland towards the Euphrates and the desert, was the portion of Syria peculiarly adorned by the Greeks, and named Tetrapolis, from its four principal cities; Seleucia,

⁵ The Highest part of Libanus or Lebanon, is called in Scripture Hermon. This western chain, producing cedars, is separated by vallies and rivers from Anti Libanus, called by the Arabs, Senner, that is, "the mountain of *fire*." Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v. 5. with Michaelis' notes. How could Mr. Volney, in commenting on this word say, "Sennir, peut-être, le mont Sannine." Volney, *Etat Politique de la Syrie*, p. 204.

⁶ Orontes natus inter Libanum et Anti Libanum juxta Heliopolim.

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 42.

⁷ Josephus de Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 35. He calls the mountain from whence it descends, Paneus.

⁸ Mare Mortuum, a quo nihil poterat esse vitale. Hieronym. in Ezekiel, c. xlvii. v. 8. Justin. xxxvi. 3. says "propter magnitudinem, et aquæ immobilitatem, mare mortuum dicitur." But in this he is mistaken, since the Greeks called it *θαλασσα νεκρά*, though that epithet is not applied by them to stagnant water. Pausanias Eliac.

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Laodicea; Apamea and Antioch. The shorter southern valley of the Jordan, with many adjacent districts on both sides that river, formed Palestinian Syria⁹, the Land of Promise. Libanus and Anti Libanus overhanging Cœlosyria with their waving forests formed the lofty inland boundary between the two countries just mentioned; both of which extended at their remote extremities to the Mediterranean, but in their contiguous and more central parts were excluded from that sea for two hundred miles, by a long line of maritime cities, composing the Phœnician confederacy. Such were the divisions of a territory, inhabited by Syrians in the north, and Jews in the south, both considered as inland nations in comparison with the Phœnicians, who held possession of the more useful part of the coast, and of the only considerable harbours which subsisted in the country before the Macedonian conquest.

Inhabi-
tants.

The Syrians had been long inured to the yoke of Nineveh, and fashioned to that softness and servitude, which made them easily admit the succeeding yoke of Babylon. The Phœnicians¹⁰ as well as Jews had smarted under the scourge of the former tyrannical capital: and, as both nations were united in their highest prosperity, under the glorious reigns of David and Solomon, zealous and unalterable allies to Hiram king of Tyre¹¹, so both were levelled by Nebuchadnezzar in seemingly inextricable calamity.

Jerusalem
taken by
Nebuchad-
nezzar.
B. C. 605.

Shortly after that prince defeated the Egyptians at Circesium, he besieged and took Jerusalem, made king Jehoiakim his prisoner, despoiled the temple of some of its richest ornaments, and carried into captivity to Babylon, the fairest and most intelligent youths of noble descent, to be instructed

⁹ The expression "Syrian Palestine," or Syria of Palestine is improper, because it implies, that Syria belongs to Palestine, and not (which is the truth) that Palestine is a part of Syria. The Greeks said "Palestinian Syria" as they did Cœle Syria, Commagenian Syria, &c. Herodotus, l. i. p. 105. Conf. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. ii. c. 25.

But in the phrase Παλαιστίνη Συρία, the latter word seemed the fitter epithet on account of its termination; which has occasioned the universal error of translators.

¹⁰ Josephus Antiq. Judiac. l. ix. c. 14.

¹¹ Conf. 2 Samuel, c. v. v. 11. & 1 Kings, c. v. v. 8. B. C. 1048—1014.

for three years in the language and learning of the Chaldean priests, that they might be fitted to serve the king and stand in his presence ¹². From this event, historians date the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, though the misfortunes of that people did not receive their completion until eighteen years afterwards, when the temple was burned, the city desolated and demolished, and the vassal king Zedekiah dragged away in fetters, with all those of his subjects, deemed dangerous at home, or qualified to prove useful abroad to their new master ¹³. None but miserable peasants were left in the land; which remained during fifty-two years in the condition of a great farm under the stewards of Nebuchadnezzar. The meaner classes of men still left behind in Palestine, were the less likely to create jealousy, because in the former transplantation of the ten tribes, the place of expatriated Israelites had been supplied by Cuthæans, strangers from the East ¹⁴, who, having partially joined with the natives in incongruous rites and manners, formed with them the mixed and mongrel nation of Samaritans; a nation held heathenish by the Jews, though treated as Jews by the heathens.

A most improbable event happened, and was brought about by an instrument, and at a time clearly specified in prophecy ¹⁵. At the end of seventy years, Cyrus restored the Hebrews to their country. As the greatest and most distinguished portion of the exiles thus reinstated in their inheritance, belonged to the tribe of Judah, the name of Jews thenceforward prevailed; under which the nation, fallen from the rank of a kingdom, began to be governed in their domestic concerns, chiefly by their high priests; though completely subordinate as to their contingents in war, and their pecuniary contributions, to the great powers who held successively the empire of Asia. This form of an ecclesiastical government at home, dependent on a civil or rather military

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tion of its
calamities.Jews re-
turn from
captivity.
B. C. 536.Their go-
vernment
thence for-
ward.How Hero-
dotus was
deceived
concerning
them.

¹² Daniel, c. i. 2 Kings, c. xxiv. 2 c. lii.
Chronicles, c. xxxvi.

¹⁴ Josephus Antiq. l. xi. c. 14.

¹³ Conf. 2 Kings, c. xxiv. v. 14.
and c. xxv. v. 11, 12. and Jeremiah,

¹⁵ Isaiah, c. xlv. v. i.

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government abroad, of which we have seen several examples from Babylon to Pessinus inclusively, should appear to have deceived Herodotus. That historian visited Jerusalem, which he calls by its oriental name Kadytis¹⁶ the Holy, a name still prevalent in the East. But the Jewish priests being as niggardly of truths, as the Egyptian priests had been lavish of lies, the inquisitive Greek enjoyed not any opportunity of learning the internal arrangements, the economy and history of the sacred city. He passes over these subjects with an otherwise incomprehensible silence, viewing the kingdom of David and Solomon with as little interest as he had formerly beheld the priestly governments (for that of Babylon was in his time abolished) of Olbus and Pessinus, of Comana and Morimena.

The accounts of them in pagan writers agree with scripture.

With equal disregard from Greek historians¹⁷, the Jews passed from the dominion of the Persians, to that of the Greeks and Macedonians, and continued thenceforward to yield obedience to those successors of Alexander in Egypt and Syria, who alternately swayed the politics of Lower Asia; until the ill advised decree of conformity by Antiochus Epiphanes, the seventh¹⁸ Syrian successor of Alexander, commanding them to comply with the established rites of Grecian superstition. Injured in this tender point, they, whose religious immunity had been the price and bond of allegiance, raised the standard of rebellion; and, in asserting not only the freedom, but the exclusive propriety and dignity of their national worship, vindicated the institutions of Moses, and precipitated the downfall of the Syrian monarchy. In this desperate warfare their valour and perseverance awakened Grecian curiosity to still subsisting peculiarities among the Jews as well as to their ancient and memorable history. The work of Hecataeus of Abdera, a follower of Alexander,

¹⁶ Herodot. l. ii. c. 159 and l. iii. c. 5.

¹⁷ Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. ii. c. 25.

¹⁸ Antiochus' decree was issued 168 years before Christ. Nearly half

a century before that decree, in the year 216 before Christ, Ptolemy Philopater was disgraced by a short lived and disastrous regulation of the same kind, as will be seen in the sequel.

who had examined the affairs of Palestine, at a much earlier period with attention and impartiality¹⁹, is unfortunately lost, and the loss is for ever to be regretted; since the notices of other Greeks, preserved chiefly in Diodorus and Strabo, reflect but a broken and distorted image of the sacred records, although they concur in bearing testimony to the power and populousness of the Jews, their momentous transactions and extraordinary institutions²⁰.

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Of all the nations of antiquity next to the Jews themselves, there is none more worthy of liberal curiosity than their neighbours the Phenicians, whose irreparable misfortunes immediately followed their own. Tyre on the continent destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, was a very different place from the small city on a rocky island scarcely a mile distant from the coast, taken after a siege of seven months by Alexander²¹. Insular Tyre was confined to an oval and elevated spot, now covered with black earth, eight hundred paces long, and four hundred broad, and could never exceed two miles in circumference. But Tyre on the opposite coast was a city of vast extent, since many centuries after its demolition, the thinly inhabited ruins measured nineteen miles round²² including the populous island or rather rock in its neighbourhood, whose houses for want of room on the earth, rose many stories into the air. The Tyrians conquered by Alexander were also a very different people from those destroyed, enslaved, or expelled by the king of Babylon. The Macedonian in sacking Tyre, revenged not only the abominable cruelties recently committed against his own countrymen, but the bloody insurrection of Tyrian slaves then possessed of the city, against indulgent and unsuspecting masters²³. The Babylonian drove from their country the more illustrious ancestors of those masters themselves; men equally conspicuous for their attainments in arts, and their achieve-

¹⁹ Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 8. Euseb. Preparat. Evangel. l. ix. and Origen cont. Cels. l. i. p. 13.

²⁰ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750, and Diodor. l. i. s. 7. and in Fragment. Libror. xxxv. and xl.

²¹ History of Ancient Greece, v. iv. c. 38.

²² Plin. l. v. c. 19. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 758.

²³ Justin l. xviii c. 3.

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ments in arms; who notwithstanding the destruction of their government and their capital, left a numerous progeny of colonies on their own model, to rescue and perpetuate their renown; and whose example was of much importance to Alexander, in suggesting the means of completing by sea as well as land, the vast commercial chain in which he had purposed to bind the remotest countries of antiquity.

Naval and
commer-
cial history
of the Phœ-
nicians.

In a former part of this survey, we described the settlement of the Phœnicians on the coast of Syria, and considered their maritime traffic there, as an appendage to the great caravan trade carried on through Asia and Africa²⁴. The nature and intent of this settlement on the shore of the Mediterranean, are well calculated to confirm the observation that the further back we remount in the history of Asia, we shall find characters the worthier of our esteem. The Phœnicians were a colony²⁵ of Sabæans, an industrious seafaring people of Arabia, not less ingenious than enterprising, and of whom we have before spoken as singularly attentive to the culture of their language, and holding public competitions in poetry, scarcely less memorable than the Pythian games in Greece²⁶. Rivalling the Greeks in taste for the fine arts, the Sabæans, and particularly their colonists, the Phœnicians, were still further ennobled by zeal for equal laws and political liberty. Sidon, the first settlement of the Phœnicians on the coast which borrowed their name, remounts to the age of Abram²⁷: Tyre followed it perhaps²⁸ at no great distance of time; and upwards of twelve centuries before Christ, they had founded other colonies, and built other seaports, each governed apart

²⁴ Homer, *Iliad*, l. vi. v. 290 & *Odyss.* l. xv. v. 419—424. By means of this communication, it is not impossible that Indian ivory might have adorned the palace of Menelaus. *Odyss.* l. iv. v. 70. et seq.

²⁵ Herodot. l. i. c. i.

²⁶ Vid. Schultens *Præfac.* ad *Monument. Vetust. Arab.* and Pococke *Specileg. Hist. Arab.*

²⁷ Conf. *Genesis*, c. x. v. 15, and c. xii. v. 6.

²⁸ Herodot. l. ii. c. 44. But the priests of the Tyrian Hercules indulged the vanity prevalent, as we have seen, in all such colleges. Josephus, *Antiq.* l. viii. c. 3. makes the foundation of Tyre precede by only 240 years, that of Solomon's Temple.

by its own kings or judges, whose official authority was so strictly limited, that it is scarcely to be distinguished from that of elective and responsible magistrates. Under the influence of such institutions, the citizens of Tyre and Sidon gradually became great merchants trading on large capitals, at the various *extremities* of the commercial world, which, according to the observation of Herodotus, were discovered most to abound²⁹ in precious commodities. The historian's remark is justified by a short enumeration of articles; the gold and ebony of Ethiopia, the spices, gems, and ivory of India, the perfumes and drugs of Arabia, the silver of Tartessus or Spain³⁰. To these the Phœnicians added slaves from Caucasus, horses and furs from Scythia, the amber of Prussia, and the tin of Britain³¹. There was scarcely a commodity either of ornament, or use, which found not a place in their markets, and scarcely a shore, however remote, which they did not lay under commercial contribution, after they had established convenient halting places for reaching it by a coasting navigation³². Of these halting places, as well as of the principal goals or markets to which they led, the notices in ancient history are more numerous than might be expected from authors chiefly occupied about wars and conquests. SECT.
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In examining in a former work, the colonization of the Greeks³³, we scarcely touched at an island in the Mediterranean, without discovering factories and forts of the Phœnicians, or clear vestiges of the mining and other stubborn exertions of that indefatigable people. Cyprus had been culti-

²⁹ Herodot. l. iii. c. 106. and c. 114.

³⁰ Tartessus and Ethiopia are called particularly "the extremities of the world." Homer, *Odyss.* l. iv. v. 563.

Εἰς ἁλυσίον πηδίων καὶ πηλῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.
Conf. Strabo, l. iii. p. 150. For Ethiopia, see Matthew, c. xii. v. 42.

³¹ Ezekiel, c. xxvii. Exodus, xxx. v. 23, 24. Herodot. l. i. c. 163. l. iii. c. 15. Strabo, l. iii. p. 146.

³² See Gesner *Commentar. de Electro Veterum, et de Navigationibus extra Columnas Herculis*, and the same subject treated in a still more satisfactory manner by Heeren in his *Ideen*, &c. p. 767. & seq. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Heeren, though this part of my work was rough-hewn before his publication appeared.

³³ *History of Ancient Greece*, passim.

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vated by their industry³⁴, before it was embellished by the elegance of Greece. In Crete the Phœnician story of Europa is anterior³⁵ to the age of the Greek Minos. The most accurate of historians within the narrow limits prescribed to his narrative, attests the immemorial settlement of Phœnicians in Sicily³⁶. In pursuing this direction from east to west, Sardinia and the Balearic isles fill up the long insular chain of their forts and settlements, finally terminating in Tartessus, the isle of Cadiz near the pillars of Hercules³⁷. Their establishments on the northern coast of Africa are not less memorable. A small part of that coast, nearest to Phœnicia, was excluded from navigation by the superstition or jealousy of the Egyptians. But we have the authority of Aristotle, not less weighty in history than it formerly³⁸ was in philosophy, for placing the foundation of Utica two hundred and eighty-seven years before that of Carthage, that is, eleven hundred and fifty-six years before the christian era: a date, which, according to that author, was copied from the Phœnician records³⁹. Around Utica their eldest daughter, and Carthage their fairest and proudest, three hundred colonies were said to have diffused themselves on both sides collectively, and the report seems to be credited by a great geographer⁴⁰ seldom accused of exaggeration. Many of those settlements became important in themselves through domestic industry and foreign commerce: Carthage, cultivating such pursuits in an extensive territory, far surpassed the power of her metropolis: but in early times all those African establishments derived no small share of their importance from being, as it were, stepping stones to the Andalusian coast, which, if Ethiopia formed the Brazils, was the Peru

³⁴ Isœrat. in Evagor. Conf. Diodorus, l. xvi. s. 42.

³⁵ Lucian de Dea Syria sub init. Conf. Diodor. l. iv. s. 60.

³⁶ Thucyd. l. vii. c. 2. & seq.

³⁷ Diodor. l. v. s. 15. In Sardinia, Tartessus, &c. sacrifices were instituted to Phœnician Hercules, and performed according to Phœnician forms or customs τὰς τῶν φοινίκων θύραις

δοικυμναί. Diodor. l. v. s. 20.

³⁸ I mean not in the scholastic ages when nonsense passed for philosophy, but in those of Alexander and Augustus, the most splendid, and *intellectually* the most refined, in history.

³⁹ Aristot. de Mirabil. Auscul' Opera. tom. i. p. 1165.

⁴⁰ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 826.

and Mexico of antiquity. During the flourishing ages of Tyre in particular, which must have lasted nearly five centuries before its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, silver continued ever to be the principal object as well as instrument of Phœnician⁴¹ traffic: and had been diffused by the Tyrians so copiously over the Eastern continent, that the revenues of all the satrapies, except India and Ethiopia, were paid in silver only⁴².

In trading with Egyptian and Assyrian wares along the shores of the Mediterranean, as they are described in remotest times by Homer and Herodotus, the Phœnicians were carried accidentally to Tartessus, which is variously mentioned as a city, a river, and a country; and which seems originally to have denoted the small island between two branches of the Guadalquivir⁴³ (settlements of that secure kind, being always preferred by the Phœnicians⁴⁴), which gradually extended its name with the diffusion of colonies over the adjacent territory. In this delicious portion of the Spanish coast (I speak at the distance of thirty years with a fresh remembrance of its charms), the enterprising traders are said to have met with objects calculated to afford unbounded scope to their mercantile speculations. For the cheapest trinkets, they received vast quantities of silver in exchange; a circumstance not extraordinary, if we believe that among the natives of the country, the vilest utensils and even the mangers⁴⁵ for their horses consisted of this precious metal. The Phœnicians must have laid in a full cargo, before they could think, as is said, of separating the lead from their anchors, that they might load them also with silver⁴⁶. Such reports may be

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Stories concerning the first Phœnician traders to that country.

⁴¹ Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v. 25. The words are rendered clearly by Michaelis, "Doch waren immer die Spanischen schiffe das hauptwerk deiner handlung." Conf. 1. Maccabees, c. viii. v. 3.

⁴² Herodotus, l. iii. c. 89. & seq.

⁴³ Diodor. l. v. s. 30. Conf. Vel. leius Paternulus, l. i. c. 2.

⁴⁴ The isle of Cadiz for the sake

of silver; Nordland, an isle of Denmark, for the sake of amber; Seilly for tin, &c.

⁴⁵ Conf. Strabo, l. iii. p. 224. and Diodor. l. iii. s. 36. with Wesselingus's note.

⁴⁶ Aristot. de Mirabil. Auscult. Opera. tom. i. p. 1163. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 163. and Diodor. l. v. s. 35.

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partly fictitious; vain exaggerations resembling those to which similar circumstances gave birth upon the first discovery of America; but as they are transmitted by authors of much discernment, they attest such riches in Spain in remote antiquity, as were sufficient to render that country the principal goal of the Phœnicians in their western traffic.

Tin, its peculiar use in Asia.

Spain is said to have produced tin⁴⁷ as well as silver. But the Phœnicians, with their unceasing activity in examining every coast which offered a hope of gain; soon discovered more copious sources of an article at all times and places of various and indispensable use, but particularly in request among the warlike nations of the East for hardening their copper and making it supply the place of iron in weapons⁴⁸. For collecting tin in abundance, the hardy navigators formed settlements on the Scilly islands, and perhaps also near to some of those promontories and peninsulas on the coast of Cornwall, which exhibiting to ships at sea the appearance of isles not unlike those of Scilly, were collectively with them named the Cassiterides⁴⁹.

The Phœnicians endeavoured to conceal their trade to the Cassiterides.

Careful as the Phœnicians were to conceal their profitable voyages, it was impossible for them to disguise their navigation for silver to Spain through the well known course of the Mediterranean. But they long endeavoured to throw a veil over their trade to Britain for the baser metals of lead and tin. In his anxiety to preserve the monopoly of these articles to his country, a Phœnician captain perceiving himself to be followed by a foreign vessel, contrived to make his ship bulge on shallows; his crew perished; the captain was saved on the wreck, and his bold act of patriotism was remunerated by his fellow citizens⁵⁰. The Cassiterides were considered as situa-

⁴⁷ Strabo, l. iii. p. 147. Diodor. l. v. s. 380. and Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 16.

⁴⁸ Their armour offensive and defensive, has been found, on analysis, to contain copper and tin.

⁴⁹ Strabo, l. iii. p. 175. makes the Cassiterides ten in number. This error is corrected by Camden and

others.

⁵⁰ Not, however, with the generosity of British merchants, if he received only the value of his lost cargo. Strabo, l. iii. p. 175, 176. But the phrase should be construed liberally, that the captain received due compensation.

ted at the extremities of the north, but the Phœnicians, if they did not really navigate the Baltic, at least procured from its shores the admired article of amber⁵¹; a commodity then deemed more precious than gold.

But this great idol (not of the commercial world alone), ^{Their trade for gold to Ophir.} appears next to silver to have been the principal import of the Tyrians. The long friendship between David and Solomon kings of the Hebrews with Hiram king of Tyre, offered an opportunity to the sacred historian of mentioning two celebrated voyages of Hiram's subjects: namely, that to Tarshish or Tartessus above described, by the Mediterranean; and that to Ophir on the eastern coast of Africa, by the Red Sea. The ships to Tarshish on the occasion particularly specified, proceeded southward to the coast of Guinea, and together with Spanish silver, brought home the usual purchases on that coast to the present day, gold and ivory⁵². The ships which sailed from the harbours of Elath and Eziongeber on the eastern horn of the Red Sea, brought back gold only⁵³. In these venturous undertakings, which should appear to have been familiar to the Tyrians, the gains must have been indeed wonderful if we measure them by the extraordinary quantities of gold employed for adorning the temple of Jerusalem, computed at upwards of six hundred millions sterling⁵⁴: a sum of accumulation to which our enormous debts of profusion can scarcely reconcile our ears. By adopting the reading in Josephus⁵⁵, the amount is reduced to the tenth part of that contained in Chronicles; but even Josephus's statement is sufficiently large to war-

⁵¹ It came from the Eridanus, recognised in the Rhodaune, which flows into the Vistula near Dantzic. Herodot. l. iii. c. 15. with Larcher's note.

⁵² Kings, c. x. v. 22.

⁵³ 1 Kings, c. ix. v. 26, 27, and 28. and 2 Chronicles, c. viii. v. 17. and 18. In these texts, the two voyages are clearly distinguished; not so, in 2 Chronicles, c. xx. v. 36. and Kings, c. xxii. 48. To reconcile Vol. I.

the dark, with the clear, texts, we may either suppose the names "Tarshish and Ophir" to be interchanged by a mistake of transcribers, or we must admit an anterior circumnavigation of Africa to that described by Herodotus 610 years before Christ. Herodot. l. iv. c. 42.

⁵⁴ 1 Chronicles, c. xxii. v. 14. with Arbuthnot's tables of ancient coins, p. 208.

⁵⁵ Antiq. Judaic. l. vii. c. 14.

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rant the suspicion that the talent in question is not that of the Hebrews, but a much smaller weight of the same name, applied only to articles the most precious, particularly the fine gold of Ophir.

Reasons for
thinking it
near to So-
fala.

A late celebrated traveller, in explaining the Phœnician voyage, is generally thought to have determined on good grounds the situation of Ophir at Sofala; a district on the eastern coast of Africa nearly opposite to the center of the great island of Madagascar. In addition to the arguments employed by himself and others in support of this opinion, it may be observed, that Cambyses the Persian, after his conquest of Egypt⁵⁶ proceeded as far as Meroe in his expedition against the Ethiopians, whose immense riches are painted in one word, by saying that the chains of their prisoners were composed of gold⁵⁷; and that he returned, despairing of success in his expedition, after he had accomplished one-fifth part of his journey⁵⁸. The stage at which he arrived, the part of his route which he had performed, and both notices derived from the most respectable sources, afford such a result as seems altogether decisive: since the distance between Thebes and Meroe, from the former of which Cambyses set out, really measures about a fifth part of the journey from Thebes to Sofala or Ophir. By this observation, however, I pretend not to fix the situation of Ophir within precise and narrow limits, for Ophir was probably a name for that part of Ethiopia most productive in gold, as Tartessus of which we have just spoken, denoted those districts in Spain most abundant in silver.

Traffic of
the Phœni-
cians in
spices and
perfumes.

Next to the precious metals, spices and perfumes formed the main merchandise of the Phœnicians, and were by them diffused among various nations of the west and north. In importing these commodities, their principal agents were the

⁵⁶ Strabo, l. xvii. Conf. Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. l. ii. c. 10.

⁵⁷ Herodot. l. iii. c. 23.

⁵⁸ Herodot. l. iii. c. 25. His provisions failed before he reached this distance, and he could not long

continue to advance, when his soldiers were obliged to live on the beasts of burden, or on each other. Conf. Herodot. ubi supra et Seneca de Ira, l. iii. c. 20.

Sabæans inhabiting the cultivated parts of Arabia on the Red Sea, and the carriers by land through the intermediate desert, were the Nabathæan Arabs, "the troops from Tema and Sheba"⁵⁹, whose transactions will be conspicuous in a subsequent part of this work during the short-lived empire of Antigonus. The Phœnicians and Sabæans were connected, as above shown, by blood⁶⁰, but still more closely united by their mutual wants. The Phœnicians wanted from these Arabians articles indispensable in the domestic⁶¹ luxury, and still more in the costly public worship of antiquity, when incense⁶² perpetually smoked from innumerable altars; and the Sabæans might be abundantly supplied in return, with what they most desired, the silver of Tartessus; an object of the utmost importance in their commerce with India, since that metal has been during all ages, in peculiar request among the remote nations of the East. Not satisfied with an equality of profit in this beneficial intercourse, the wily Tyrians, while they kept in their own hands a sort of monopoly of silver, contrived to create rivals to the Sabæans in the sale of Indian and Arabian merchandise. The cultivated parts on the Red Sea, and those on the Persian gulph, are separated by a frightful desert six hundred miles broad. Towards the north they were connected by the wandering Nabathæans, and on the south, by small and obscure seaports extending along

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Its vast extent and causes by which it was promoted.

Sabæans prevented from keeping the monopoly in this traffic.

⁵⁹ Job, c. vi. v. 19.

⁶⁰ See above, s. ii.

⁶¹ Herodot. l. i. c. 195. and 198.

⁶² Id. l. i. c. 183.

⁶³ "The Phœnicians by means of their harbours on the Red Sea, held a regular intercourse with India." Robertson's Disquisition, &c. p. 7. 4to edit. But the authorities cited by the accurate historian, (viz. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1128. and Diodorus, l. i. p. 70.), do not warrant his assertion; neither is there any clear proof of Indian articles in the xxviii. chapter of Ezekiel. But spices are mentioned in Genesis, c. xxxvii. v. 25; and what these spices were, appears from the cin-

namon and cassia of the holy oil, Exodus, c. xxx. v. 23. with Michaelis' note. *Κινναμωμος* is used in the Septuagint, Jeremiah, c. vi. v. 10. and also in the Revelation, c. xviii. v. 13. where that spice appears as an ordinary article of traffic in ancient Babylon. Herodotus, l. iii. c. 3. says, "cinnamon came from the country, where Bacchus was brought up," that is, India: and the stories related by him concerning it exactly resemble those told by the inhabitants of Ceylon to Thunberg and Foster. Athenæus, l. i. p. 66. will attest the early use of spiceries in Greece.

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Gerra and
Maceta.

the basis of the triangle, from the Arabian to the Persian gulph. At the entrance of the latter, Maceta opposite to the modern Ormus, and further to the north, Gerra, only two hundred miles distant from the mouth of the Euphrates, deserved the attention of historians, not exclusively engrossed by wars and conquests. At what precise period the commerce of these harbours acquired eminence we are not enabled to ascertain; it must, however, have been ancient, extensive, and uninterrupted, since a southern district of Babylonia, Diredotis or Teredon, chiefly supplied by their means with spices and aromatics, was emphatically styled the land of traffic by the prophets⁶⁴, and is dignified with precisely the same title by the Greek historians of Alexander⁶⁵. At their first establishment the harbours on the Persian gulph probably served chiefly as links of connexion between the Happy Arabia, and the rich Babylonian⁶⁶ plain, where the successive capitals of Nineveh and Babylon, not to mention cities of inferior rank, must have occasioned a great demand for their merchandise; since Babylon, in its fallen state under the Persian yoke, annually consumed twenty five⁶⁷ tons of frankincense, in the single festival of Belus. But through the interference, and perhaps the example of the Phœnicians, the merchants of Gerra and Maceta, as well as those of the neighbouring isles in the Persian gulph, some of which produced good timber⁶⁸, ventured on a bolder sphere of action, and constructed vessels of their own fit to perform long coasting voyages to different parts of India. That the Tyrians had no small share in effecting this improvement, is indicated in the name Tylos or Tyrus, and Aradus, both transferred from Phœnician⁶⁹ cities to two small islands near the eastern coast

Dedan—its
import.

⁶⁴ Conf. Ezekiel, c. xvii. v. 4. and Isaiah, c. xliii. v. 14.

⁶⁵ Γῆς ἐμπορίου. Arriani Indica, c. 41.

⁶⁶ Strabo says this of Gerra, and speaks of it as a Babylonian colony, l. i. p. 50. Nearchus in his voyage was told that the promontory, which he saw before him, of Maceta, was an

emporium of cinnamon and aromatics, which supplied the Assyrians. Arrian. Indic. c. 32.

⁶⁷ Herodot. l. i. c. 183.

⁶⁸ Theophrast. Histor. Plant. l. v. c. 6. and Plin. l. vi. c. 28.

⁶⁹ Ἰερα ἰλῶσι τοῖς φοινικίοις ὀνόμα. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 766. Conf. Plin. l. vi. p. 28.

of Arabia: whether those now called the Bahrein islands, or according to our great geographer, whose opinions always command respect, two yet smaller, near the mouth of the Persian gulph⁷⁰. The notices in ancient writers concerning the situation of Tylos or Tyros are not to be reconciled. Probably, as we have seen in parallel cases, the name was applied to different islands in the gulph; as they successively became chief seats of Phœnician factories, and principal staples of traffic. By means, however, of their settlements in these parts called collectively Dedan⁷¹ in Scripture, the Phœnicians not only destroyed the monopoly of the Sabæans with regard to the maritime commerce in spices and perfumes, but obtained a channel of communication with Ophir or Sofala, independently of the harbours on the Red Sea, which, in the unsettled state of that neighbourhood, frequently changed masters.

Having endeavoured briefly to explain the different branches of Phœnician commerce, it is necessary to add that a people equally ingenious and enterprising, was not contented with dealing in foreign commodities. They carried on successfully various branches of domestic industry, some common to them with other manufacturing nations, and several peculiar to themselves alone: for the inventors of letters were the authors of many other inventions; among which it would be unpardonable to omit their robes shining with the far famed Tyrian dye, their inimitable pieces of workmanship in gold and ivory⁷², and the more useful composition of glass, which appears to have been a Sidonian discovery⁷³. Yet to the boldness of their maritime under-

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Phœnician
manufac-
tures.

⁷⁰ Remell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 248.

⁷¹ Bochart and Michaelis on Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v. 15.

⁷² Strabo, l. i. p. 41. and l. xvi. p. 757, 758.

⁷³ It was industriously reported by the Phœnicians, that the fusion of sand into glass could be perform-

ed only at Sidon. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 758. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 69. and Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 26. Were the λίθινά χυτὰ, "the melted stones" of which Herodotus speaks of the same nature with modern glass? If so, the Egyptians probably obtained them from Sidon. Joshua, c. xix. v. 26. with Michaelis's note.

SECT. takings, the Phœnicians are principally indebted for their
IV. celebrity⁷⁴.

Circumna-
vigation of
Africa.

Its unim-
portance in
that age.

The circumnavigation of Africa by men, who in many preceding voyages, had sailed to Guinea on one side, and to Sofala on the other, is not an unlikely event, nor involving any incredible circumstances. The voyage was accomplished, as we have seen, six centuries before the Christian era, by Phœnicians resident in Egypt, at the desire of Necos, the unfortunate rival of Nebuchadnezzar. But in the state of the commercial world at that period, this voyage which first discovered the Cape of Good Hope, stands as an insulated and comparatively unimportant fact, celebrated indeed as a matter of curiosity⁷⁵, but which to historians of that age, did not seem likely to be attended with any considerable utility.

Had profit been its main object, the Tyrians would have left neither the design to a king of Egypt, nor the execution chiefly to their countrymen settled in that kingdom; their own commonwealth would have embarked heartily in the enterprise. But the merchants of Tyre holding such an important share in the traffic carried on by sea and land through the great central countries of the world, could not discern any alluring prospect at the out-lying extremity of Africa. On the eastern side, all beyond Ophir, the land of gold, was left unexamined from an opinion rather of the uselessness of such an undertaking, than of any great

⁷⁴ In the *Argonautica* ascribed to Orpheus, and certainly of high antiquity, the Poet makes Ancæus, a Phœnician, take the helm in time of danger and encourage the Greek heroes. *Argonaut.* v. 1090 & seq.

⁷⁵ See above, p. 133, & Herodotus, l. iv. c. 42. Some translations make Herodotus say, "the report of those navigators may obtain credit with others, but to me it seems incredible; for they affirmed that having sailed round Africa, they had the sun on their right hand." The last clause of the sentence

should run, "that in sailing round Africa they had the sun on their right hand," that is, in the northern hemisphere. On turning to the original, the reader will find, that this is the only circumstance which Herodotus calls in question, although he candidly admits that others may be prepared for receiving it. He is so far from disbelieving the relation in general on account of one improbable circumstance that he immediately subjoins: "Thus was Africa for the first time explored."

danger attending it; and on the western side of that vast region, they might safely intrust the completion of their discoveries to the greatest of their own colonies, I mean the republic of Carthage, whose fortunate position on the African shore was improved, as we shall see hereafter, by a rare combination of deep wisdom and daring enterprise.

The political state of the Phœnicians may be familiarized to our fancy by recalling the governments of Greece during the heroic ages. In Greece before, and for a short time after, the war of Troy, each city at the distance of ten or twenty miles from another, had its king, its senate and assembly; while the whole of these cities collectively formed a confederacy for defence, and sometimes for aggression: united by the common ties of religion and language, a sameness of laws, and a similarity of manners. Such precisely⁷⁶ was the condition of the Phœnicians, with one important difference, that this praiseworthy people never unsheathed the sword except in self defence: they resisted the invaders of their country with unparalleled perseverance; the other materials for their history are supplied solely by their commerce, their colonization, and their discoveries.

At the head of these discoveries must be mentioned, that which is the greatest of all, and to which mankind are so infinitely indebted, that emotions of curiosity and gratitude arise in every liberal mind, at the bare name of its authors. It might naturally be expected that clouds should surround the origin of alphabetic writing, an art by which chiefly, the fruits of all other arts and sciences are perpetuated and diffused. But the general voice of antiquity, while it ascribes

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Government of the
Phœnicians.

Invention of letters—
connected with their
extensive commerce.

⁷⁶ The progress of government in Phœnicia, accorded also exactly with that in Greece, and was directly the reverse of that in Palestine. Instead of Judges, the Hebrews created kings; instead of Kings, the Phœnicians elected Suffetes, the Phœnician or Hebrew word (Sopetim) which signifies judges. In their historical age, the Cartha-

ginians knew only Suffetes, though Hanno in the title to his voyage (of which hereafter) is called king. This interchange of names attests the nature of the office, agreeing, as said in the text, with the very *limited royalties* of Greece. History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 1. & 3. Conf. Josephus, cont. Apion, l. i. c. 17.

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to the Egyptians and Assyrians respectively, the improvements of geometry and astronomy⁷⁷; and to both nations promiscuously, the introduction of idolatry and hieroglyphics⁷⁸, assigns to the Phœnicians an invention of greater subtilty and more extensive use; the analysis of articulate sound into its simplest elements, and the notation of these elements by fit characters, which Cadmus carried with him into Greece, two years before Moses led the Israelites across the Red Sea. The Assyrians and Egyptians depicted on walls and columns their public transactions, as well as their astronomical observations: the symbolic writing employed for these purposes was also subservient, as we have seen, to the early and extensive intercourse carried on by caravans, through the great cities of Thebes and Nineveh, Memphis and Babylon; and between those great inland staples of the ancient continent on the one hand, and the Phœnician as well as Arabian seaports on the other. To which of the two great pursuits of the Theban and Babylonian priesthood, whether for commerce or for science, the inestimable art of recording thought was originally introduced, it would be now fruitless to inquire; but it is worthy of remark, that the two great nations of antiquity, the most noted for their inland traffic, are also the most celebrated for their hieroglyphics; and it is conformable to this observation that the Phœnicians, while they distinguished themselves by maritime commerce, should have exerted their ingenuity on contrivances indispensable to merchants⁷⁹, and have simplified more and more, the means by which their contracts might be recorded, and their thoughts communicated to numerous correspondents and factories in distant parts of the world.

Destruction of
Tyre by
Nebuchad-
nezzar.
B. C. 573.

Within as narrow a compass as seemed consistent with perspicuity, I have endeavoured to comprise the merits

⁷⁷ 'Οι χαλδαῖοι μὲν ἀστρονομίαν, Epist. 52.

Αἰγυπτίοι δὲ γεωμετρίαν, &c. Anatolius
apud Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. l. iii.
c. 10. p. 275.

⁷⁸ Vid. Cassiodor. Varior. l. iii.

⁷⁹ To this source, also, Strabo
ascribes their arithmetic and doc-
trine of proportions. Τὴν ἀριθμικὴν &c
διαμετρίαν, l. xvii. p. 787.

and attainments of a people whose splendour appears early above the distant horizon of time, and whose sun of prosperity set five hundred and seventy three years before the Christian era. After a thirteen years' siege, Tyre was taken and demolished by Nebuchadnezzar. King Ithobal was slain in fighting for his capital. To these particulars concerning a siege longer, and in respect of its defenders far more important than that of Troy, history only enables us to add the ordinary operations in all such warfare; a mound raised against the place, walls of circumvallation round it, forts with lofty engines from which its highest towers were battered⁸⁰. Its fair palaces, splendid idols, and accumulated magazines of precious merchandise⁸¹ were a prey to horsemen from the north, the Scythian cavalry of Nebuchadnezzar; barbarians not less thirsty for blood than they were greedy of plunder.

The crash of this metropolis in the bold language of prophecy, resounded over numerous isles and distant coasts; its fall shook to the earth many flourishing factories and colonies, involving as it were in its ruin the whole commercial world⁸². A peculiarity in the prediction "that Tyre should be thrown into the sea, so that though sought for, it should never more be found"⁸³, was not fulfilled till near three centuries afterwards, when Alexander employed part of the ruins of this capital to raise a stupendous mole reaching three quarters of a mile from the coast to the walls of New Tyre, built on the opposite island⁸⁴. This mole has been gradually covered with alluvions, and formed into an isthmus, which with the small island at its extremity, compose together a peninsula in the shape of a hammer. The present town stands on the junction, as it were, of the head and handle: miserably peopled by fifty families of poor fishermen⁸⁵. Sad as this desolation must appear, the narrowness

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IV.

Influence
of that
event on
the com-
mercial
world.

Prophecy
fulfilled.

⁸⁰ Ezekiel, c. xxiv. v. 8 & 9.

⁸¹ Idem c. xxviii. v. 12 In Michaelis' translation.

⁸² Id. Ibid. v. 15, 16, 17.

⁸³ Ezekiel, c. xxvi. v. 17 & 21.

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⁸⁴ History of Ancient Greece, v. iv. c. 38.

⁸⁵ Voyage de Volney en Syrie, &c. v. ii. p. 194. This more lively than learned traveller gives a curious

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and smallness of insular Tyre, the seaport sacked by Alexander, but afterwards restored by him, was a declension scarcely less memorable from the spacious and splendid city destroyed irrecoverably by Nebuchadnezzar.

New Tyre
—its build-
ings.

This king of kings, the redoubted commander of innumerable cavalry, appears not to have been possessed of any considerable naval force. Many Tyrians escaped by sea with their most precious effects; and a considerable number of them, moved by affection for their native land, so much increased the populousness of the island, that it became in time necessary to raise the houses there, five and six stories above the ground. They are described as equalling in height the *insulae* at Rome, a word for which the English language happily supplies not an equivalent, but which denoted large and lofty edifices, inhabited by various tenants of the poorer sort, occupying their several flats or stories⁸⁶. Security from such conquerors as Nebuchadnezzar, compensated to the Tyrians for every inconveniency and even danger, in a country often shaken by earthquakes.

Nebuchad-
nezzar's
invasion of
Egypt.

The taking of Tyre which had not been effected by the Chaldees "till every head was bald, and every shoulder peeled"⁸⁷, was immediately followed by a predatory desolation of Egypt, then torn by a civil war between Apries the grandson and successor of Nectos, and his revolted general Amasis. The haughty character of Apries, who according to Herodotus, vaunted that it was beyond the power⁸⁸ of the gods themselves to shake the firmness of his govern-

derivation of the word Sour (the modern name of Tyre.) The Latins, he says, substituted the letter *T* for the Greek *Θ*, which had the hissing sound which the English give to *Th* in the word *Think*. Hence the change of the Greek *Theta* into *S*. How strange! Did Mr. Volney ever meet with "Tyre" written in Greek with a *Theta*? The modern name of Sour or Sur is not derived from the Greek but from the Arabic, in which language Tyre, as is

well known, is written *Tsyros*. Vid. Golium. Element. Afragan.

⁸⁶ Conf. Juvenal. Satyr iii. v. 166; Sueton in Neron. and Strabo, l. xvi. p. 753 and 757. They are common in all parts of the continent; over which England has this advantage, that persons of moderate fortunes, as well as the rich, can lock their outer doors, their houses being inhabited by one family only.

⁸⁷ Ezekiel, c. xxix. v. 18.

⁸⁸ Herodotus, l. ii. c. 161

ment, is described more pithily by the words put into his mouth by Ezekiel "the river is mine and I have made it"⁸⁹, such pride deformed by still more odious cruelty⁹⁰, precipitated him from the throne; and after the departure of Nebuchadnezzar, (who should appear to have entered into a composition with Amasis,) subjected him to a shameful death⁹¹.

From the date of Apries' execution, the usurper Amasis reigned forty four years with great glory; exaggerated perhaps by the partiality of the Greeks, to whom he threw open the commerce of his kingdom, and whom he encouraged to build temples, (a precaution necessary to merchants) in every part of his dominions, and with whose nation he enhanced all his former merits, by making a Greek woman the partner of his throne⁹². During the latter part of his long administration, Egypt completely recovered the evils inflicted on it in the time of Apries. The seasons were favourable, the supplies of water to the Nile unusually propitious, and the kingdom boasted its twenty thousand cities or towns, most of them well inhabited⁹³. Such a bloom of prosperity tempted a new invasion, not indeed from the unworthy successor of Nebuchadnezzar, but from the same great power which had swept that detestable despot from the earth.

The Egyptian expedition is the last warfare of which we have any distinct notice in the military history of Nebuchadnezzar, who shortly afterwards converted his vast camp into the greatest city described in antiquity. Of the wonders of this city, as well as of the various classes of its inhabitants, their occupations, pursuits, and manners, such as they still appeared at the era of the Macedonian conquest, we shall speak presently; after deducing in few words the revolutions in Asia, from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Alexander.

The great Nebuchadnezzar, called Labynetus by the Greeks, died five hundred and sixty one years before the Christian era. He was succeeded by a prince named also

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Amasis, his
reign of
forty-four
years. B. C.
569—525.

Revolu-
tions in
Asia be-
tween Ne-
buchadnezzar and
Alexander.
B. C. 561—
330.

⁸⁹ Chap. xxix. v. 9.

⁹⁰ Herodotus, l. ii. p. 162.

⁹¹ Idem c. 169.

⁹² Idem l. ii. c. 178. and 181.

⁹³ Idem c. 177.

SECT. Labynetus by Herodotus⁹⁴, a name that may be recognised
IV. in the Nabonnid of Berosus⁹⁵, and who, from a complete coincidence in several extraordinary particulars⁹⁶, is concluded to be the same person with the Belshazzar of Daniel, whose capital was taken by Cyrus five hundred and thirty eight years before the Christian era.

Babylonian, or second Assyrian empire. B. C. 605—538. The second Assyrian empire called Babylonian, from the capital of Nebuchadnezzar, and Chaldean from the nation of his warlike followers, lasted no more than sixty seven years from the destruction of Nineveh, to the Persian conquest of Babylon. During the first fifty five years of that period, the power of Babylon in the west, was contemporary with that of the Medes in the east; and during the twelve last years of the same period it was contemporary with that of the Persians⁹⁷, who, through the valor and policy of Cyrus, supplanted the dominion of the Medes five centuries and a half before Christ⁹⁸.

Persian empire. B. C. 538—330. From the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, to the assassination of the last Darius by Bessus, an interval of two hundred and eight years, the Persians, whose history in connexion with that of the Greeks, I related in a former work, held a more extensive dominion in southern Asia, than any other nation ever enjoyed either before or after them, the Macedonians alone excepted.

Egypt conquered by Cambyzes, B. C. 525. To Asia, Cambyzes the son and successor of Cyrus, added Egypt⁹⁹ almost immediately after the death of Amasis, its illustrious and beloved sovereign. Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, and the last independent king of Egypt, reigned but six months before the invasion of his country, and the destruction of himself and family by a merciless tyrant, who in his eagerness to level every thing in that ancient kingdom before his own despotism, raged with an intolerant fury not totally devoid of policy, against its idolatry and

⁹⁴ Idem l. i. c. 188.

⁹⁵ Apud. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. c. 2. and Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. l. ix. c. 41.

⁹⁶ Conf. Xenoph. Cyropæd. vii. p. 190. Edit. Leuncl. and Daniel, c. v.

passim.

⁹⁷ Herodot. l. i. c. 125, and seq. Conf. Daniel. cum Comment. Hieronym.

⁹⁸ Id. ibid.

⁹⁹ Herodot. l. iii. c. 1. and seq.

priesthood¹⁰⁰. As the priests had been the first authors, and always continued the main supporters of Egyptian prosperity, so of all classes in society, they were the most reluctant in yielding submission to a barbarous foreign yoke. The successive revolts of the Egyptians fomented chiefly through the priests, continued down to the era of the Macedonian conquest. Only twenty years before that period, when Artaxerxes Ochus defeated Nectenebus the last conspicuous rebel, his victory was followed, as we have had occasion formerly to observe, by a general persecution of the sacerdotal families, whose temples were plundered even of their sacred records¹⁰¹.

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IV.

Persecutions of its
priests and
rebellions.
B. C. 525—
330.

Notwithstanding the evils inflicted on Egypt by the Persians, that country, as well as Assyria, when they fell under the dominion of Alexander, still contained an industrious and ingenious people. The use which that conqueror, as well as his brother Ptolemy, who reigned after him in Egypt, made of such valuable materials there, it will be my duty to explain fully hereafter. But as Babylon, locally the center, was chosen also for the seat and capital¹⁰² of Alexander's empire, it is necessary in this place to describe its condition when conquered by him, not merely as to its buildings and external embellishments, things comparatively of little interest, but with regard to its numerous inhabitants; their arts, manners, character, and pursuits.

Babylon
chosen for
the seat of
Alexander's em-
pire.

Babylon had been long famed for science and for commerce, before it became the head of a great empire on the downfall of Nineveh. These cities, as capitals, existed not simultaneously, but successively. Many of the ornaments of Babylon might be due to a princess who flourished an hundred and fifty years¹⁰³ before Nebuchadnezzar, and still more of them might be owing to his queen Nitocris, who is supposed to have carried on his architectural plans during his long mental alienation; yet we have the authority of Scrip-

How en-
larged by
Nebuchad-
nezzar.

¹⁰⁰ Id. *ibid.* and c. xxv. & seq.

¹⁰² Strabo, l. xv. p. 731.

¹⁰¹ Diodorus, l. xvi. s. 51

¹⁰³ Herodotus, l. i. c. 184.

ture for ascribing to Nebuchadnezzar himself¹⁰⁴ the vast-
 ness and magnificence "of the house of his kingdom." The
 dimensions of his capital as extended on the plan of a vast
 camp after the usual practice of oriental conquerors, are
 given with as little variation¹⁰⁵ as might be expected from
 travellers estimating by report only, without actual admea-
 surement. According to the fairest result, they comprehended
 a regular square, of which each side measured about twelve
 English miles¹⁰⁶, giving a surface of an hundred and twenty-
 six square miles within its fortifications: a surface exceeding
 eight times the size of London and its appendages¹⁰⁷. Baby-
 lon contained many crowded streets rising three and four¹⁰⁸
 stories high; but like its precursor, Nineveh, abounded with
 gardens; or rather parks, spacious reservoirs of water, temples
 and palaces of great extent, with other places altogether
 empty, or but thinly inhabited. Although we abate above
 one half for these vacancies, we shall have ample space for
 habitation within walls forty-eight miles in circuit. These
 walls were seventy-five feet high, with pinnacles rising fif-
 teen feet above them¹⁰⁹; and were provided at due intervals
 with an hundred brazen gates. The principal palace stood
 on the western bank of the Euphrates directly opposite to
 the temple, sepulchre, and tower of Belus. This last named
 edifice ascended above the middle of the temple, or rather
 sacred inclosure, in a pyramidal form, diminishing in com-
 pass as it reached upwards from its quadrangular base, each
 side of which was a stadium in length¹¹⁰. It was divided
 into eight stories, of which the higher always contracted
 by the deep retreat of its sides from the division immediately
 below it. The whole height of the tower measured a stadium;

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 Its dimen-
 sions.

How divi-
 ded within
 its walls.

Tower of
 Belus.

¹⁰⁴ "Is not this great Babylon which I have built for the house of the kingdom," that is, the capital of my empire. Conf. Daniel, c. iv. v. 30. Josephus cont. Apion, l. i. c. 19.

¹⁰⁵ Conf. Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, Curtius, Pliny.

¹⁰⁶ Herodotus, l. i. c. 178. Conf. Diodor.

¹⁰⁷ Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 341.

¹⁰⁸ Herodotus, l. i. c. 180. Conf. Curtius.

¹⁰⁹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 738.

¹¹⁰ Herodot. l. i. c. 181. his stadium is the tenth part of a mile nearly.

an altitude well according with the forty feet¹¹¹ assigned to the colossal statue of Belus or Jupiter on its summit; which, at the elevation of a stadium, would represent the ordinary size of a human figure.

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The magnitude of this edifice, loftier and only somewhat less massy than the greatest of the Egyptian pyramids, has been a stumbling-block with many who have overlooked a more considerable difficulty. How could Babylon, if three times, or only twice as populous as London, be properly supplied with food? In the narratives of ancient writers, we hear nothing of that scarcity¹¹² which prevails in the populous cities of China, now the greatest in Asia; and which reduces their wretched inhabitants to the meanest shifts and coarsest garbage for subsistence¹¹³. The Babylonians, on the contrary, are described as living in great plenty, and the upper classes as enjoying the habitual use of expensive luxuries¹¹⁴. It has been computed that London requires for its support, according to the average culture of Great Britain, a territory nearly equal in extent to Wales¹¹⁵. Could the produce of fourteen thousand square miles, that is, twice the surface of Wales, be transported to Babylon without enhancing beyond bounds the price of necessaries? The question will be answered in the affirmative, when we consider what was above said of the wonderful fertility of Babylonia, that is, the cultivated soil between the rivers; of the canals for watering the desert on the west of the Euphrates, and of the rich alluvial Susiana on the east of the Tigris¹¹⁶. Besides this consideration, the following passage of Scripture seems to indicate the means by which the produce of very remote districts might be serviceable in nourishing the capital, and lowering in price there, the principal articles of subsistence. "And Solomon had twelve officers over all Israel which provided

How Babylon supplied with food.

The household of the great king not supplied from the ordinary markets.

¹¹¹ Diodorus, l. ii. c. 9.

¹¹² Anson's Voyage, Staunton's Embassy, &c.

¹¹³ Id. *ibid*.

¹¹⁴ Herodot. l. i. c. 195.

¹¹⁵ Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 341. & seq.

¹¹⁶ See above, p. 60. & seq.

SECT. IV. victuals for the king and his household¹¹⁷." A similar institution prevailed under the Assyrian and Persian empires¹¹⁸.

Two royal palaces only, occupied in Babylon the space of two and a half square miles¹¹⁹. In these stupendous abodes of luxury and magnificence, the retainers and court attendants cannot be supposed less numerous than they are afterwards described in the smaller palaces of Susa where the menials were numbered by troops like the king's accompanying army, and where many thousands of higher rank were daily fed at his tables¹²⁰. In subsisting these favourite multitudes, and even the royal army, no demand needed to be made on the ordinary markets. They were provided bountifully by the despotic master of millions, commanding and concentrating labour, and setting all expense at defiance.

Peculiar circumstances in the soil and mode of life of the Babylonians.

In addition to this circumstance, Babylonia, more fertile than Egypt, enjoyed for the most part an equal conveniency in point of water carriage. The soil not only produced more than that of European countries, but there was a quicker succession of crops, legumes succeeding grains, and fruits being followed in the same season by new flowers. The Babylonians also, like the inhabitants of southern Asia in general, lived on the simple and immediate produce of the ground, instead of receiving the result of that produce infinitely diminished in the form of animal food. Nations subsisting chiefly on grains and roots attain a degree of populousness of which carnivorous Europeans can scarcely form an idea. In those adust climates besides, the crops of many years might be treasured up with safety; and that this expedient for preventing scarcity was in use at Babylon there is abundant proof in history¹²¹.

Public granaries.

¹¹⁷ 1 Kings, c. iv. v. 7.

¹¹⁸ Ctesias Persic. and Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 241.

¹¹⁹ Diodorus, l. ii. s. 8.

¹²⁰ Xenoph. ibid. Conf. Athenæus, l. iv. p. 146. Diocletian the first Roman emperor who adopted the court ceremonial of the great kings of the East, had the avenues

to his palace lined by vast troops, (the various schools as they were called,) of domestic officers. Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, et Spanheim de Usu Numismatum, Dissert. xii.

¹²¹ Herodotus, l. iii. c. 158 and Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 190.

During the latter part of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, and the twenty-six years that intervened between his death and the conquest of his capital by Cyrus, Babylon appears not only to have been the seat of an imperial court, and station for a vast garrison, but the staple of the greatest commerce that perhaps was ever carried on by one city. Its precious manufactures under its hereditary sacerdotal government remounted, as we have seen, to immemorial antiquity¹²². The Babylonians continued thenceforward to be clothed with the produce of their own industry. Their bodies were covered with fine linen; descending to their feet: their mitras or turbans were also of linen, plaited with much art; they wore woollen tunics, above which a short white cloak repelled the rays of the sun¹²³. Their houses were solid, lofty, and separated, from a regard to health and safety, at due distances from each other¹²⁴; within them the floors glowed with double and triple carpets of the brightest colours¹²⁵; and the walls were adorned with those beautiful tissues called Sindones, whose fine yet firm texture was employed as the fittest clothing for eastern kings¹²⁶. The looms of Babylon, and of the neighbouring Borsippa, a town owing its prosperity to manufactures wholly, supplied to all countries round, the finest veils or hangings, and every article of dress or furniture composed of cotton, of linen, or of wool¹²⁷.

In the consumption of the Babylonians we find innumerable commodities, produced only in countries far remote from their own. The vast quantities of spices and aromatics wasted in private luxury, or in the superstitious worship of their gods, appear to have been objects of more expense among them, than among any other people, not excepting the Romans during the ages of their greatest magnificence. At the

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Babylon's
greatest
commercial
prosperity.

Rich manu-
factures.

Vast con-
sumption
of precious
foreign ar-
ticles.

¹²² Joshua, c. vii. v. 21.

¹²³ Herodot. l. i. c. 195.

¹²⁴ Curtius, l. v. c. i.

¹²⁵ Xenoph. de Instit. Cyri.

Vol. I.

¹²⁶ Theophrast. Hist. Plantarum.

l. iv. c. 9.

¹²⁷ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 739. and

Theophrast. ibid.

SECT. festival of Jupiter, twenty-five tons¹²⁸ of frankincense were
 IV. yearly burned on his altar. Next to this article the prodigi-
 Golden ous masses of gold employed in statues and other ornaments
 idols. deservedly excite wonder. Nebuchadnezzar's golden image
 ninety feet high, included also the height of the pedestal,
 since the breadth of this figure was, according to Scripture,
 only nine feet, which from the known proportions of the
 human body, will give forty feet for its altitude, the pre-
 cise¹²⁹ number assigned by Diodorus Siculus to the loftiest
 of the colossal statues at Babylon. According to his enume-
 ration and estimate of the golden ornaments in that city, the
 collective mass exceeded in value twenty-one millions ster-
 ling¹³⁰: but some fallacy may be suspected, since we know
 Fallacy in from higher authority, that many idols consisted of wood¹³¹
 their overlaid only with gold. Every Babylonian is said to have
 amount. worn an engraved gem, serving for his signet; and whose or-
 Signets. dinary materials were the onyx, the sapphire, or the eme-
 erald¹³². The diamond had not yet displayed its unrivalled
 brilliancy. In its natural state this sovereign of the mineral
 kingdom, is commonly a grayish flint, dull and dirty; its
 splendour and superior value is revealed only by cutting, the
 invention of Berquen of Bruges towards the close of the
 fifteenth century¹³³. In the article of diet, the Babylonians
 Table and are described as sparing. Like the Chinese and Hindoos they
 personal lived chiefly on grains; the table is not the favourite luxury
 luxuries. of any of those eastern nations. But the Babylonians delight-
 ed in perfumes, the use of which was universal, and with
 which, in their liquid state, the whole body was daily sprin-
 kled¹³⁴. Their native palms supplied them with a variety in

¹²⁸ Herodotus, l. i. c. 183. His talent is reckoned at 60 pounds avoirdupois. He says, "1000 talents." Forty talents make a ton, and 1000 talents make 25 tons.

¹²⁹ Conf Daniel, c. iii. v. 1. and Diodorus, l. ii. s. 9.

¹³⁰ Diodorus, l. ii. s. 9. & seq.

¹³¹ Isaiah, c. xl. v. 9. Such probably was the golden calf worship-

ped in the wilderness (Exodus, c. xxx. v. 20.), about which ignorance has so long cavilled, and will continue to cavil.

¹³² Ctesias Indic.

¹³³ An. Dom. 1476. Merveilles des Indes par Berquen de Bruges, p. 15.

¹³⁴ Herodot. l. i. c. 195. and 199

their bread, and also yielded inferior sorts both of honey and of wine; they received palm wine, and fruits in great quantities from Armenia¹³⁵; nor was the more generous wine from grapes¹³⁶ excluded as a branch of the river commerce of Babylonia, until the sullen superstition of Mahomet banished conviviality with almost every social pleasure from the finest regions of the earth.

The commerce of the principal articles hitherto enumerated, gold, spices, and perfumes, we have already endeavoured to explain. But the country supplying the different gems above mentioned, might be a matter of uncertainty, were we not told that they came from the same quarter that yielded other luxuries, whose locality is clearly ascertained by their name and nature¹³⁷. These are the famous Indian dogs, such essentials in Babylonian magnificence, that whole districts were exempted from other tribute that they might be enabled to defray their maintenance¹³⁸. They are said to have been the mungrel brood of dogs and tigers¹³⁹, participating in the qualities of both. Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, found them still in northern India, towards the middle of the thirteenth century. He compares them in size and strength to lions¹⁴⁰; and if they really combined with other excellencies, the docility and fidelity of the dog, their value must have been inestimable in the eyes of kings and satraps, whose favourite delight was hunting, both as the amusement of their idleness, and the gratification of their vanity.

Important as this eastern traffic might be considered, the western commerce of Babylon was not less considerable in

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Gems and
dogs from
northern
India.

Route to
the Medi-
terranean
sea.

¹³⁵ Id. c. 194.

¹³⁶ Curtius, l. v. c. i.

¹³⁷ Ctesias Indic. c. v. He also mentions, c. xxv. θηρία σπυδα ωσπερ κινναβαρί, supposed to be cochineal, an article of great importance to the manufactures of Babylon and Borsippa.

¹³⁸ Herodot. l. i. c. 192. We shall see hereafter that they continued to be equally admired under the

Geek kings of the East; and Sultan Bajazet, the unfortunate rival of Tamerlane, had among other servants of his household 12,000 dog-keepers. Cherefeddin's Life of Tamerlane, vol. ii. p. 147.

¹³⁹ Aristot. Histor. Animal. l. viii. c. 28.

¹⁴⁰ Marco Polo in Romusio, li. 35.

SECT. IV. itself, and is still more conspicuous in history. In human affairs there is generally a compensation throughout, unobserved by that careless impatience which views every question under one only, and that often a false aspect. The navigators of modern times precipitate their course through the widest seas, whereas those of antiquity timidly pursued their tedious way along the winding shores of deep bays and dangerous promontories. But the ancient caravans, on the other hand, penetrated fearlessly through broad deserts, in consequence of establishments formed there for their safety, with a perseverance of stubborn industry, unrivalled perhaps in any other line of exertion. Witness Palmyra or Tadmor in the Desert, and the numerous ruins between that useful wonder of art, and the staples of Emesa and Heliopolis¹⁴¹, from which last the Babylonian traders were brought to the center of the Mediterranean coast, teeming in every age of antiquity with rich and populous cities. This golden chain was often shattered by the iron rod of conquerors. The capital link was destroyed when Nebuchadnezzar depopulated and demolished Tyre. But as commerce delights to resume the routes with which it has once become familiar, a new Tyre, as we have seen, arose in the small island separated only by a narrow frith from the old¹⁴². Sidon, Aradus, and other Phœnician cities of less note escaped the vengeance of the destroyer; and were not backward to avail themselves of the commercial advantages accruing to them from the ruin of their overwhelming rival¹⁴³.

Royal road. Besides the route through the Syrian desert, connecting Babylon with the Phœnician seaports, another and a far longer line of communication between that great capital and the countries of the west, offered itself in what was called the royal road. By means of this road, which we formerly had occasion to describe¹⁴⁴, the merchandise of Europe might reach the remote countries of the East. Amber, metals, and works of Grecian art, would easily bear the expense

¹⁴¹ Pococke's Travels, p. 159 & seq.

¹⁴² Plin. l. v. c. 19.

¹⁴³ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 754.

¹⁴⁴ Herodot. l. v. c. 52 & seq.

of a long conveyance by land. The Greek colonies early established on the northern shores of the Euxine, diffused the pelts and furs¹⁴⁵ of Sarmatia and Scythia over the central provinces of Asia; and through the operation of mutual exchange, other European commodities, still heavier in proportion to their value, might sometimes find their way thither.

In every age of antiquity maritime commerce was an object of far inferior importance, to that carried on by land. But Babylon, which had so great a share in the latter, could not, however, remain altogether destitute of the former, situate as that city is, in the neighbourhood of those seas and great rivers which lay open the inmost recesses of Asia, and therefore well adapted for participating in such traffic as was carried on by small vessels, whose number compensated for their want of bulk. In the Hebrew prophets, the Chaldeans, the principal cast or tribe of the Babylonians, are early characterized as a people "who raise the shout of joy in their ships¹⁴⁶." The Chaldeans of Gerra, we know from good authority¹⁴⁷, supplied their great metropolis with Arabian and Indian merchandise. They often sailed three hundred miles up the Euphrates to Thapsacus, where part of them left their vessels, and becoming carriers by land, distributed their spices and perfumes through the neighbouring cities¹⁴⁸. The Tigris could not be navigated on account of its rapidity to such a remote distance from its mouth, Yet the traffic of that river had raised a place, called Opis visited by Xenophon, to populousness and prosperity¹⁴⁹, though fifty miles distant from the site of Bagdad, and an hundred north of Babylon.

It should seem that partly through this maritime colony of Gerra, distant only two hundred miles from the mouth of the Euphrates, the Babylonians were furnished with those prodigious¹⁵⁰ masses of gold, which give an air of romance

¹⁴⁵ Herodotus, l. iv. c. 104. & seq.

¹⁴⁶ Isaiah, c. xlii. v. 14. and Ezekiel, c. xvii. v. 4. with Michaelis's notes. Conf. Heeren Ideen, p. 640, & seq.

¹⁴⁷ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 766.

¹⁴⁸ Id. *ibid*.

¹⁴⁹ Xenoph. Anab. l. ii. p. 284

¹⁵⁰ Diodor. l. iii. s. 12.

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to their early history. The Gerræans maintained an intimate connexion with Phœnician factories in the small isles of the Persian gulph, which traded, as we have seen, to Ophir or Sofala. They enjoyed an intercourse scarcely less advantageous with the emporia in the Red Sea, in the neighbourhood of the Ethiopian mines, called under the Ptolemies Berenicè Panchrysos: mines opened from immemorial antiquity, and of which the working, though attended, in different ages, with very different degrees of profit, and often interrupted by the desolating invasions of Nomades, yet appears to have been continually renewed with fresh ardour, insomuch that the various operations by which the pure metal was obtained, are described by Agatharchides an eye witness, who examined the golden Berenicè under the reign of the VIth Ptolemy¹⁵¹. The magnificence of Gerra is said to have been worthy of the rich articles in which she dealt; spices, perfumes, gems, ebony, ivory, and gold. In their personal accommodations her merchants rivalled the splendour of princes. Their houses displayed a profusion of the precious metals; and while the roofs and porticoes were crowned with vases studded with jewels, the apartments were filled with sculptured tripods, and other household decorations, of which gold, ivory, and gems composed the sole materials¹⁵². Such superfluity of magnificence indicates a traffic for which the Gerræans were well situate with that part of the African coast anciently visited by the Phœnicians, and the source of immense riches, as we have seen, to them and their Hebrew allies¹⁵³. Like other commercial enterprises of antiquity, the voyages to Ophir are mentioned but incidentally and sparingly. From a hint¹⁵⁴ only, we know that the Tyrians continued to prosecute them immediately before the siege of their city by Nebuchadnezzar. How early the

¹⁵¹ Agatharchides Cnidius apud Phot. c. ccl. p. 1322. & seq. and Geograph. Minor. Hudson, v. i. p. 22. & seq.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ See above, p. 153.

¹⁵⁴ Ezekiel, c. xvii. v. 16.

Chaldæans of Gerra, and also those of Teredon¹⁵⁵, near the mouth of the Euphrates, participated in this lucrative traffic¹⁵⁶, we are not enabled to determine, but from the epithets bestowed on them by the prophets bespeaking a people peculiarly conversant in navigation, we may presume that they would not long neglect voyages the most profitable of any, on record; and by which Babylonia might, in the course of ages, be supplied with great abundance, of gold independently of the vast accumulations made by conquest and tribute under the two first kings of Babylon, and the thirty-two Assyrian kings who reigned before them at Nineveh.

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When Babylon is considered as the seat of universal traffic, several insulated particulars touching its inhabitants, for which it has appeared difficult to account, will arrange themselves naturally in the general picture of commercial manners. Of this remark, the institutions relative to the fair sex, and those regarding persons in a bad state of health will serve for illustration. The reports of the rhetorical Curtius, ever fond of extremes, receive too much countenance from more authentic and graver authors¹⁵⁷, when he describes the abominable profligacy of the Babylonian women; especially those of inferior condition. The Greeks were struck with the freedom of intercourse between the sexes in this great capital, so unlike to the unsocial¹⁵⁸ jealousy of Orientals elsewhere, or even in this point, to their own unamiable austerity. Yet in Greece itself the commercial Corinth exhibited an example of equal licentiousness: and the chain of great marts through Asia Minor; Pessinus, Morimena, Comana, and several other cities, proved the conflux of caravans not less ruinous to

Customs of
the Babylo-
nians, rela-
tive to their
extensive
commerce.

¹⁵⁵ See above, p. 156.

¹⁵⁶ They still enjoyed it in the age of Alexander. Nearchus apud Arrian. Indic.

¹⁵⁷ Conf. Curtius, v. i. and Herodot. l. i. c. 197.

¹⁵⁸ Herodotus perhaps carries

this observation too far, when he says the Persians had no places of public resort, not even public markets. Herodot. l. i. c. 153. Conf. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 3. Edit. Lenncl. But Xenophon's Cyropædia is a philosophical romance.

SECT. female modesty, than the concourse of shipping and rich
IV. seamen¹⁵⁹.

With regard to persons in bad health, Herodotus says, "they were carried to the squares and places of public resort, that they might be interrogated by passengers, and obtain advice as to the cure of their complaints¹⁶⁰." Such a custom might be attended with peculiar advantages in a city frequented by a succession of travelling merchants, headed as we have seen, by persons conversant with all branches of useful science known in their times¹⁶¹. When Herodotus says, "the Babylonians had not physicians¹⁶²," he means only that they had not a distinct cast or family exercising exclusively as in Egypt, and anciently in Greece, the different branches of the healing art¹⁶³. The profession was open for all who chose to engage in it, and the cordiality between natives and strangers, so desirable in a place of traffic, would be promoted by the maxim that it was uncivil in either to view with insensibility, a suffering individual, or to decline entering into conversation with him¹⁶⁴. Of Babylonians, as well as strangers at leisure for this office of humanity, there was always a sufficient number; for though the inferior classes, as we have seen were busily employed in trade and manufactures, in repairing or embellishing their immense city, and in retailing or transporting the different productions of their land and labour, yet the spacious squares of Babylon abounded with rich idlers dressed in flowing robes¹⁶⁵, breathing precious perfumes, their heads adorned by the mitra, and bearing each in his hand, as a badge of grandeur, a staff or cane¹⁶⁶, shaped at top into the form of a flower, a bird or

¹⁵⁹ Τρεπον γὰρ τινὰ μικρὰ Κορινθίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις, Strabo, l. xvi. p. 559. He is speaking of Comana, but he uses the same expression repeatedly in speaking of the other staples.

¹⁶⁰ Herodot. l. i. c. 197.

¹⁶¹ See above, p. 63.

¹⁶² Herodot. ubi supra.

¹⁶³ Aristot. Politic.

¹⁶⁴ Id. ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Diodor. l. ii. c. 6. Conf. Herodot. c. 195.

¹⁶⁶ In remote times and places, the cane has been the badge of a gentleman. Addison somewhere says of a person remarkable for his native good breeding, that he seemed "born to a cane." The expression would now convey quite a different meaning.

some other characteristic emblem¹⁶⁷. Their hereditary opulence relieved such persons from care and labour; and it should seem that the fashion of their country imposed on them the duty of using their best endeavours to mitigate disease and soothe sorrow.

¹⁶⁷ Herodot. ubi supra.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY
OF
ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION V.

Application of the preceding Survey to Alexander's Undertakings in the East. His Views with regard to the West. The Historian Livy's Defiance. State of Rome at that Period. Of Carthage. Alexander's Helps towards executing his boldest Projects. Especially from Greeks in the three Divisions of the World. Alexander's last Operations in Babylonia, connected with useful Establishments on his most remote Frontiers. His Death and Testament.

SECT.
V.
Application of this survey.

IN surveying Alexander's conquests, the object which I have in view, is that of qualifying my readers to enter with satisfaction on the historical part of this work. The description of imperial districts and great capitals is therefore more copious and more circumstantial than that of other cities and provinces, not only because such objects are peculiarly interesting in themselves, but because our attention will more frequently be recalled to them. Upon the same principle, as far as my materials would allow me, I have adjusted the proportions of *all* subordinate parts; so that wherever the scene of the following history may be transported, the reader may still find himself among countries and nations, with whose transactions, manners, and local circumstances, he is not unacquainted.

But besides this general end, which bears a reference to the whole of the following history, the above related changes in empire, and the statistical discussions with which they are

accompanied, will enable us to discern the intent of undertakings which Alexander, indeed, lived not to carry into execution, but which serve to evince his perfect knowledge, both of the materials with which he had to work, and of the lessons which correct historical experience afforded. Two circumstances, chiefly, cast an air of romance on the reign of the most sagacious of conquerors. First, designs altogether extravagant have been ascribed to him; and secondly, no clear explanation has been given of his helps towards accomplishing the vast projects which he really entertained. Should we credulously listen to later writers among the Greeks and Romans, when those nations had too evidently lost a due relish for truth together with their manly spirit and their liberty, Alexander aimed at nothing less than the subjugation of the whole habitable world: poets and artists carried the exaggeration farther, and represented him in the childish attitude of crying for new worlds to conquer¹: ridiculous fiction! totally disclaimed by Aristobulus and Ptolemy, his companions in arms and biographers. From such contemporary authorities, it is yet possible to assign the real and natural limits which Alexander had prescribed to himself in the North, South, East and West; to explain the measures which he had taken or projected for securing his most remote boundaries; to describe his arrangements towards uniting all of them with the center, Babylon; and thus cementing, by laws and arts, as well as by arms and victories, the extremities, as they were then deemed, of the commercial world. Having discussed these topics, I shall relate circumstantially his operations in the imperial district of Babylonia, where, chiefly, he spent the last fifteen months of his life; and where the scene of the following history opens with the dissensions among his generals, about the succession to his empire.

According to authentic historians, Alexander bounded his empire northward, by the Danube and the Jaxartes. In a Alexander

Principles
on which

¹ Ælian. Var. Histor. l. iv. c. 29.
Conf. Juvenal, Satyr xv. v. 168.
Ælian whimsically ascribes Alex-

ander's mad ambition to his perusal
of Democritus' treatise on the plu-
rality of worlds.

SECT. V. former part of this work, we have seen his proceedings on the banks of these great rivers, which flow respectively into the Euxine and Caspian; and had occasion to observe with what admirable prudence he avoided a useless conflict with the Scythian nations beyond them, at the same time, that he adopted the surest means for overawing such irreclaimable barbarians, and confining them in future within their native wilderness. The bleak Scythian desert led to nothing more valuable beyond it: the reverse was the case with the burning sands of Arabia. The southern shores of that peninsula were immemorially inhabited, as we have seen, by the Sabæans, an industrious and enlightened people, cultivating the most valuable productions, and carrying on many rich branches of commerce.

His measures for exploring and subduing Arabia.

Alexander, we are told, had formed the resolution of penetrating thither²; and as his armies were to be accompanied and seconded by fleets, (the best means for securing success) he had shortly after his return to Babylon, sent down successively into the Persian gulph, three vessels for exploring and examining the contiguous coasts³. The first of these vessels commanded by Archias, proceeded only to Tylos or Tyros, formerly mentioned as a well known mart of the Phœnicians, and still subsisting as the center of the modern fishery for pearls. The second vessel navigated by Androthenes, advanced but a little farther; and even Hiero, a Greek of Cilicia, by whom the third ship was conducted, far less surpassed his precursors than he fell short of the object which his employer had recommended to him; which was to circumnavigate the whole of Arabia from the mouth of the Euphrates to the inmost recess of the Red Sea⁴. But Hiero barely beheld Cape Syagros, the great eastern promontory; and after viewing the conflict of the waves there, hastened back to describe this forbidding obstacle, in nearly the same terms of exagge-

² Strabo, l. xvi. p. 785.

³ Arrian de Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 19. and seq.

⁴ Arrian says to "Heroopolis,"

the capital of an ancient Egyptian Nome, and now forty miles inland from Suez, the modern seaport.

ration⁵, which were used by the first Portuguese mariners, who saw, without doubling, the Cape of Good Hope. But Alexander was alike proof against fear and imposture; with him the voyages hitherto undertaken were mere preludes; and at the fatal moment which terminated all his projects, Nearchus the friend of his youth, and who had already conducted a great fleet in safety from the Indus to the Tigris, was prepared⁶ to resume the circumnavigation of Arabia with an assured prospect of success. Had this design been carried into execution, facilities would thereby have been afforded for counteracting by fleets of victuallers, the natural sterility of the country; and Alexander who had defeated and overawed the firmer Scythians, would easily have surmounted the dissipated hostility of the Arab tribes; an hostility only formidable to well disciplined armies, when the congenial enthusiasm of Mahomet gave to the whole nation one decided impulse. By the success of this undertaking in its full extent, the Macedonian dominions southward would have been defined by the region of perfumes on both sides of the Red Sea; the Adel and Yemen of eastern geographers, or the two Ethiopias of the Greeks⁷.

With regard to his eastern limits, Alexander having occupied the mountainous inlets to Hindostan, erected them into the satrapy of Paropamisus; a province famous in modern times, as the primitive seat of the Afghans or Abdalli, and the root of their powerful kingdom of Candahar, which has arisen with such rapidity upon the divisions and disasters of the Persian and Mogul empires. Through this elevated district, he proceeded above three hundred miles to Taxila on the Indus⁸, overran the country watered by that great river and its tributary eastern streams, treated his vanquished enemies with most admired generosity, raised the fortresses

For consolidating his conquests in Hindostan.

⁵ Faria y Souza, Portug. Asia, vol. i. p. 46.

⁷ Strabo, l. i. p. 30.

⁶ Arrian, l. vii. c. 25, and Histor. Indic. c. 20.

⁸ Taxila is 345 miles from the city of Candahar.

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of Nicæa and Bucephalia on the Hydaspes, and erected his stupendous altars on the Hyphasis⁹. Having returned to Taxila, now Attock, on the Indus, he traversed southward from that city an extent of nearly seven hundred miles to the sea; built the strong-hold of Pattala at the top of the Indian Delta¹⁰; and then proceeded homeward in person with his army, while his fleet was committed to Nearchus to explore the coasts of the Erythraean sea between India and Assyria. With this bold outline, the subordinate parts corresponded. The highlands of Paropamisus, he observed, separate the waters of that part of Asia; and the courses of the Indus, Oxus, and other great rivers formed those deep valleys affording the only safe passes either for armies or caravans. By building Alexandria, now Candahar, he chose the fittest site for securing the communication between India and Persia; and by means of a more northern Alexandria, now Cabul¹¹, he connected, in like manner, the former country with Bactriana, whose capital Bactra enjoyed, as we have seen, an early commercial intercourse with the emporia on the Caspian and Euxine seas, and through them with many flourishing cities in Lesser Asia.

In his return from India, Alexander, it is well known, penetrated through the inhospitable solitudes of Carmania and Gedrosia; and from this, the least profitable of all his expeditions, he could only learn that in the actual state of those frightful regions, no safe communication by them could possibly be introduced. But on the skirts of these dreary wastes, having discovered that fertility began with the Arachosian and Arian mountains, he founded two Alexandrias, respectively in Aria and Arachosia, and also the strong-hold of Prophthasia in Saranga, which, with many other cities less conspicuous or less permanent, formed a chain of for-

⁹ Arrian, Diodorus, and Plutarch. were so near to each other as in a

¹⁰ Strabo, l. xv. p. 701. commercial point of view to answer

¹¹ The ancient and modern cities, the same purposes.
if not precisely on the same site,

treasures and factories upon the most direct central route from the Indus to the Euphrates¹². These undertakings for maintaining an intercourse with India by land and sea, perfectly accord with his transactions above related with its native princes; and both unitedly attest his resolution of acquiring a paramount authority in Hindostan, which had he lived solidly to establish, would have carried back by the space of 2000 years the era of European domination over that remote eastern region.

In the west only, the designs of Alexander stopped short at bare projects. But a prince who had proceeded to the country of spices, and taken measures for penetrating to the country of perfumes, could not overlook objects yet more important in commerce, and chiefly abounding in Spain, or Tartessus, at the western extremity of the Mediterranean. The desire of exploring this country, which formed the Peru and Mexico of antiquity¹³, had determined Alexander to carry his arms to the pillars of Hercules. With this view, we are told, he had been careful to inform himself concerning the coasts west of Greece and Egypt; and through the assistance of plans furnished to him by Phœnicians and Greeks who had long frequented those seas, he judiciously selected and marked with his own hand, the sites best fitted for harbours and emporia, docks and arsenals. Spacious roads were to be drawn along the tracts most convenient for caravans; many protecting temples were to be erected; and the whole circuit of the Mediterranean was to be commanded by fleets and armies, sufficient to restrain depredations by sea and land, and to overawe the native barbarians of Africa and the west of Europe¹⁴.

This bold project should seem to have provoked the patriotic indignation of the prince of Roman historians. In the

SECT.
V.

His projects with regard to the western shores of the Mediterranean.

Livy's patriotic defence to him.

¹² Arrian, Diodorus, Strabo. See particularly Strabo, l. xi. p. 514. and l. xv. p. 723. In delineating these eastern routes, he has always Alexander in view. Conf. Isidor. Character. apud Hudson's Geograph. Mi-

nor. D'Anville Eclairciss. p. 19. and Rennell's Memoir, p. 171.

¹³ See above, p. 151.

¹⁴ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 4. and Plutarch in Alexand

SECT. longest digression of an immortal work which seldom turns
 V. aside from commemorating the proud series of consular triumphs, Livy¹⁵, in speaking of Papirius Cursor, the contemporary of the Macedonian hero, undertakes to examine what would have been the issue of the conflict, had that hitherto matchless warrior carried his arms into Italy. The extraordinary exploits of Alexander, he says, had often been the subject of his own secret wonder; yet, with all his renowned greatness, had that conqueror come into competition with the Romans, it is the historian's belief that he must inevitably have been foiled in the contest. My readers are acquainted with the great military establishment and admirable tactics of the Macedonians; they know that the phalanx, as organized by Alexander, was indeed a very different instrument of victory from that employed a century afterwards by the Antiochuses and the Ptolemies; and they will see presently vast armies wielded with skill by his warlike captains, who divided amongst them his empire. But at the time, when Livy makes his countrymen challenge, as it were, this prince to battle, the force of Rome exceeded not ten legions¹⁶; her dominion did not extend over a fourth part of Italy; she was distracted with perpetual hostilities against her subjects, her allies, her revolted colonies, and twenty independent nations beyond them. Fifty years before Alexander, Rome had been burned by the Gauls; and four years after his demise, two consular armies were, at the Caudine Forks, passed under the yoke by the Samnites. "Yet great," as Livy says, "was the fortune of Rome;" but to use the words of an historian and soldier, better qualified to appreciate the resources of war, "her fortune was greatest in this, that Alexander died in his 33d year, before he found leisure to invade and conquer Italy¹⁷."

His views
 with re-
 gard to
 Carthage.

In extending the empire to its projected western boundary, the conqueror, it may be conjectured, would have met

¹⁵ L. ix. c. 16. & seq.

¹⁶ The legion then contained only 4000 foot and 300 horse.

¹⁷ Raleigh's History of the World, c. iv. p. 3.

with less formidable opposition from Rome than from the destined rival of the Roman name; long persecuted as her enemy, at last cruelly immolated as her victim. The foundation of Carthage on that part of the African coast which advances into the Mediterranean to meet, as it were, and defy Italy and Sicily, preceded by 115 years the foundation of Rome; and the former republic had made proportionably still more rapid advances towards wealth, strength, and prosperity¹⁸. Commanding 1500 miles along the African coast, she carried on the inland commerce of that vast continent. Her powerful navy was nourished and upheld by the rich maritime traffic which it protected to all the western coasts of the Mediterranean. The silver mines which the Carthaginians wrought in Spain, and the gold of Ethiopia, attracted to their standard Numidians, Gauls, Iberians; the fiercest nations in Africa and Europe. The western division of Sicily; Sardinia, Corsica, with all the lesser isles in the Tuscan sea, formed the appendages of their empire. The most dangerous wars that they had yet waged, had been with the Greeks in Sicily; with those of the same nation who had occupied Massilia, or Marseilles, and its surrounding district in Gaul; and with those who, two centuries after the foundation of Carthage, established themselves on the projecting coast of Cyrene in Africa, which, in point of geography, bears the same relation to Crete and the Peloponnesus that Carthage herself holds with regard to Sicily and Italy. The great losses sustained in those wars, an industrious commercial nation had speedily repaired; and Carthage now seemed to stand firm with her wealth, her shipping, and wide extended dominion. Yet her security resulted wholly from the premature death of Alexander, which intercepted his progress westward. This we may affirm on solid historical grounds; for only a dozen years after that fatal event, we shall see Agathocles of Syracuse

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—State of
that republic.

¹⁸ Carthage was in her meridian greatness at the era of Agathocles's invasion, 310 years before Christ, and 56 years before her first war with Rome. Her condition at the former period will be described in a subsequent part of this work, chiefly from Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Justin, and Strabo.

SECT. fail in his Carthaginian invasion chiefly through the mutiny
 V. of his Greek troops. Alexander needed not, like Agathocles, to have invaded Carthage by sea; he was master of Egypt; he had explored the route to the Oasis of Hammon, the most difficult part of the journey from that kingdom to Cyrene; and from Cyrene, as we shall see in due time, armies less inured to fatigue and danger than those which had pervaded the barren sands of Carmania and Gedrosia, might find their way safely to Carthage. The fate of that flourishing republic in its reduction under the Macedonians, would have presented a less unworthy spectacle than its cruel subversion by the relentless enmity of Rome; for Alexander, whose breast was not to be disturbed by any emotions of jealous rivalry, would, as in other instances have left to the Carthaginians, their laws, their shipping, and their opulence; and requiring only a slight acknowledgment of his supremacy, have admitted them as one of the most important links in the golden chain of well-protected commerce, in which he laboured to unite the most distant nations.

His resources in the Greek colonies settled in the three divisions of the world.

For effecting this salutary purpose, the above statistical survey has shown us how great and manifold resources he possessed in the strenuous domestic industry of the Egyptians and Assyrians; in the bold trading expeditions by land of the Ethiopians, Arabians, and Indo-Scythians; and in the rich foreign traffic, the invaluable manufactures, and extensive maritime connexions of the Sabæans and Phœnicians. Besides all these materials, so well fitted for consolidation into the vast fabric which he had projected, the firmest cement and brightest ornaments of the edifice were still to be found in his own nation; I mean in the activity, ingenuity, and enterprise of Greek colonies, diffused through all parts of the ancient world.

Those along the peninsula of Asia.

In the great central peninsula of Asia, his desired work had by means of these colonies already been effected, and the foundations of public prosperity had long been established. The three sides of that peninsula extending sixteen hundred

miles from Trapezus or Trebisond to the Syrian gates near Issus, abounded with Greek cities governed on the republican plan, whose institutions, both civil and religious, the conqueror was studious to uphold. This long line of civilization and industry was farther protracted by the valuable coast of Syria, where Greeks were intermixed with not less busy Phœnicians. In the near vicinity of Phœnicia, Egypt was growing into a Greek kingdom; and Alexandria with its crowded harbours, was fast rising¹⁹ to that commercial preeminence which, as Alexander's schemes with regard to Babylon failed through his premature death, the capital of the Ptolemies was destined to maintain during the course of eighteen centuries. From the conquests of Egypt, the Greeks of Cyrene then governed, as we shall see, by the wisdom and equity of Mantinan²⁰ laws, pushed their dominion five hundred miles westward; so that the unbroken line of European colonization along the coasts of Asia and Africa considerably exceeded the length of the Mediterranean sea, accurately estimated by the ancients at 2,400 Roman miles²¹.

On the opposite, or European side, the conqueror's views On the Euxine and Mæotis. would have been seconded by the zeal of ancient Greece, and her flourishing colonies in Italy, Sicily, and Gaul. The narrow seas joining the Mediterranean and Euxine washed his dominions in Thrace, and were commanded by his fleets; and in this quarter also, he would have found fit instruments for his boldest and most beneficial projects. Towards these rugged regions of the north, the Greeks, and particularly the Ionians, had early diffused their industrious colonies. Their principal cities were Olbia at the mouth of the Borysthenes or Dnieper; Panticapæum and Theodosia in the Tauric Chersonesus; Phanagorium on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, with a chain of seaports terminating in the har-

¹⁹ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 792. Conf. bitus. Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxii. Aristot. de Cura Rei-familiaris, ²⁰ Aristot. Politic. l. vi. c. 4. Opera, vol. ii. p. 509. Alexandria ²¹ Polybius Specileg. ex l. xxxiv. non sensim ut aliz urbes, sed inter A Roman mile is to an English as initia prima aucta per spatiosos am- 0.91 to 1.

SECT. bour of Tanais, near the inmost recess of the Palus Mæotis²².

V.

One great object of these establishments is explained by the father of history. From the northern shores of the Euxine, the enterprising colonists extended their settlements 350 miles inland to the country of the Geloni, in conjunction with whom the Greeks inhabited a wooden city twelve miles in circuit, the immemorial staple of the fur trade²³. This wooden city, which should seem to have stood near the site of the modern Woronez in Russia²⁴; appears to have maintained a constant communication with the continent and islands of ancient Greece; for I doubt not that the far famed Hyperboreans, who sent regular offerings to Delos²⁵, were no other than the Greek colonies in those remote northern regions.

Massilia or
Marseilles
—its history
and institutions.

The most western colony of the Greeks was the famous Massilia, or Marseilles. To this shore, already well known to their traders, and on which some feeble settlements should seem to have been previously established, the maritime Phocæans had transported themselves from Ionia 540 years before the Christian era. The motive of their migration was to escape from the persecuting tyranny of the Persians²⁶. They abandoned their possessions for the sake of their freedom, and carried with them to their new country in Gaul, their laws and arts, together with the revered rites of Ephesian Diana, and the adventurous spirit of their commerce. As they increased in populousness and power, they diffused their colonies on both sides of the rocky shores of Marseilles, and particularly over the extent of 150 miles from the mouth of the Rhone to that of the Var²⁷. Their establishments at Rhodè, Antipolis, Olbia, and Nicæa de-

²² Strabo, Pliny, Dionys. Perieget.

²³ Herodotus, l. iv. c. 104.

²⁴ Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 93.

²⁵ These offerings passed through the hands of many Scythian nations to the Adriatic. The Dodonæans were the first Greeks who received them. From Dodona, they were

carried to the Malian gulph. From thence they travelled to Carystus in Eubœa. The Carystians transported them to Tenos, and the Tenians to Delos. Herodotus, l. iii. c. 33.

²⁶ Herodotus, l. i. c. 164 and Justin, l. xliii c. 3.

²⁷ Strabo, l. iv. p. 180. & seq.

served the name of cities. The Stæcades or Hieres isles²⁸ were among their earliest possessions, and highly cultivated by their industry. At the mouth of the Rhone, they also occupied the small island between its two principal branches, which they adorned with a temple of Diana. The whole of their territory was favourable to the production of wine and oil, articles which they knew how to procure in perfection, manfully to defend, and to sell to the best advantage. Their institutions were, indeed, equally well adapted to the opposite states of war and peace. In point of military engines and arsenals, Marseilles is compared with Cyzicus²⁹ and Rhodes, two Greek cities, as we shall see, highly conspicuous for these advantages. Their frontiers were secured by fortresses on the land side, and they had gained signal victories at sea over the Tuscans and Carthaginians. Their government was in the hands of a senate of six hundred, who held their offices for life, and of a lesser council of fifteen, who conducted the current affairs, and successively presided in the senate³⁰. Their laws were public, precise, and equal; no armed man was admitted within their city; their hospitality³¹ to strangers procured for them extraordinary good will among Greeks and Barbarians. Many of their institutions had in view the preservation of that propriety, decency, and dignity, which, in a well ordered state, ought to exalt the human character. No licentious festivals, particularly no corrupt comedies were permitted at Marseilles: at funerals all unmanly lamentations were forbidden: the marriage portions of women were limited to one hundred aurei, and only the twentieth part of that sum could be expended in dress, or in ornaments³². In later times, Marseilles became the source of light and information to the neighbouring provinces of France and Italy; and was frequented by the Romans, scarcely less than Athens itself, as a school of Greek learning. But before

SECT.
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²⁸ They consisted of three large, and two smaller, islands.

²⁹ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 653.

³⁰ Id. l. iv. p. 179.

³¹ Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 6.

³² Strabo and Valerius Maximus. Ibid. Conf. Cicero. Oratio pro Flacco, c. lxiii.

SECT. V. the age of Alexander this remote colony had obtained nearly the full measure of its strength and wealth; and in the reign of that prince, the voyages of Pytheas of Marseilles illustrated the enterprising spirit by which his countrymen were animated. Pytheas circumnavigated the British isles; he sailed even to Thule, *Iceland*. His accounts of those far distant and unknown lands, were disgraced perhaps by exaggerations and fictions; though some of his reports which have been branded as the vilest fables, rather reflect disgrace on those who ignorantly rejected them³³.

The Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily.

But the helps to be found in Gaul were then inconsiderable in comparison with the assistance which Alexander might have derived from either division of Magna Græcia. In the age preceding his own, the petty tyrant of Syracuse had fitted out four hundred ships of war from a single harbour. The same Dionysius commanded an army of 120,000 foot, and 20,000 horse³⁴. During the intermediate space of time, the resources of the Sicilians had not diminished; those of their brethren in Italy were also flourishing and powerful. The fame of Alexander filled the remotest of these countries; and while in contemplating his victories, the Spartans maintained a proud silence, and the Athenians too often indulged the loquacity of anger and envy³⁵, all the other various communities of Greeks, which in their dispersion over so many coasts and islands, cannot be estimated at less than 20 millions of souls³⁶, were forward to associate themselves to the glory of an enlightened and liberal conqueror, who protected their laws, encouraged

³³ In Thule, for example, Pytheas said that the elements were combined in a certain chaotic mixture, resembling the fishes called Mollia by naturalists. See my Analysis of Aristotle, vol. i. p. 147. 8vo edit. But this allusion to the Mollia plainly indicates the vast quantities of sea plants found on the shores of the northern ocean, extending over vast tracts of country, and often ri-

sing in masses above six feet high. In those regions of Cimmerian darkness, Pytheas discerned only that soft slippery substance resembling Mollia which he trod under foot. Martinet in Act Harlem. apud Schweigh. in Polyb. l. xxxiv. c. 5.

³⁴ Diodorus Siculus, l. xiv. s. 47.

³⁵ Livy, l. viii. c. 18.

³⁶ See above, p. 18.

their arts; and together with their arms and their commerce, SECT. V. diffused also their institutions, their language, and their learning over the finest countries of antiquity.

Had Alexander lived to consolidate his conquests within the limits above assigned, the unrestrained intercourse of the ancient world would have nearly accorded with what the discovery of America realized, on a still larger scale, in the modern. The precious metals of Spain, (for it abounded in both sorts), would have been freely and securely exchanged for the spices of India, the perfumes of Arabia, and the manufactures of many industrious intermediate countries. The western division of this huge mass of empire, from the pillars of Hercules to the Euphrates, was afterwards conquered, and long governed by the Romans; and the eastern, from the Euphrates to the Hyphasis, was that portion of his conquests which, from the precautions that Alexander had taken, would have been the most easily retained.

By choosing in the center of this vast territory, Babylon for the house of his kingdom³⁷, he complied at once with the invitation of great natural advantages, and the example of former masters of the East, who had reared their successive capitals on the rich Babylonian plain, peculiarly productive in grain, and of unrivalled conveniency for building. From its intermediate situation, Babylon, before it was oppressed by Persian tyranny, had anciently been the goal and main rendezvous of Asiatic caravans. Alexander, while he restored this inland traffic of the Babylonians, purposed also to revive and greatly extend their ancient commerce by sea³⁸. In this design he is said to have been encouraged by the successful voyage of Nearchus, which had joined Assyria with India; and the wisdom of his undertaking is confirmed by the reports of modern navigators, who inform us that many harbours on the Persian gulph, admit vessels drawing twelve feet water; a depth fully sufficient for the

³⁷ Conf. Daniel, c. iv v. 30. and Strabo; l. xv. p. 731 *ὅτι τὸ ἐγγύς τοι* ³⁸ Arrian Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 20. *ἑσθιωτόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν βασιλευσιν, &c.*

SECT. largest Grecian gallees, and more than sufficient for the round

V.

flat bottomed merchantmen of antiquity. In prosecution of an enterprise bearing the united stamps of grandeur and utility, while proper persons were employed by Alexander to repair or embellish the temples and palaces, the parks or paradises, of Babylon, the king surveyed with his own eyes the navigable courses of the Euphrates and Tigris, above and below that city. In the course of this examination, he every where removed the artificial obstacles with which the commerce of these great rivers, the natural inlets to Asia, had been interrupted by the cowardice or jealousy of the Persians³⁹. With a similar view he formed a harbour at Babylon fit to contain a thousand gallees, and furnished with large galleries or porticoes, under cover of which that number of sail might, according to the ancient fashion, be occasionally hauled on shore⁴⁰. The native cypress of Babylonia was employed in the construction of innumerable small craft; and for building larger ships, as the remote Hyrcanian forest was laid under contribution⁴¹, the vast woods in Armenia would not be overlooked, since these great magazines of timber being near to the Tigris and Euphrates, might be floated with much ease to Babylonia. To Thapsacus on the Euphrates, one hundred and fifty miles above Babylon, he caused to be conveyed over land from Phœnicia, thirty long vessels, with single banks of oars, and twenty trireme gallees built by the best Phœnician artisans. To prepare them for this conveyance the ships were taken in pieces⁴²: they were reconstructed at Thapsacus, and thence sailed proudly down the river, being intended by Alexander to serve as models in the formation of future navies, which unhappily never existed but in fancy⁴³.

³⁹ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. and Arrian, l. vii. c. 7. After such indubitable testimonies, Niebuhr's opinion, vol. ii. p. 307. "that these obstructions were dykes for keeping up the waters to a fit level for the purposes of irrigation;" this opinion, I say, deserves only to be mention-

ed, because entertained by a traveler in high estimation.

⁴⁰ Arrian, l. vii. c. 19.

⁴¹ Plutarch in Alexan. Arrian and Diodorus.

⁴² Arrian, *ibid*.

⁴³ Only six years after Alexander's death, the Euphrates was na

The barbarous policy of the Persians had ruined the foreign traffic of Assyria. Under the same odious tyranny, agriculture and manufactures had also fallen to decay. Alexander, with impartial attention to every species of useful industry, examined and improved⁴⁴ the reservoirs of water and canals indispensable in a country where all is desert, that cannot be duly supplied with moisture; and where all is of exuberant fertility, that can be flooded and drained at the proper seasons. To encourage the labours of his workmen in this essential undertaking, he committed himself in a slight vessel to the intricacy of reedy lakes, and the unwholesomeness of slimy ditches. Although the greater canals of Assyria had been long neglected and exhausted, there remained (and they still remain to the present day) two artificial lakes with channels joining them to the Euphrates. One of these lakes, directly west of Babylon, is now distinguished by the tomb of Hosein; the other thirty miles south of it, is distinguished by the tomb of Ali; and it is worthy of remark, that these tombs of Mahomedan saints should now supply⁴⁵ the place of ancient sepulchres of Babylonian priests and princes, (since the sacerdotal cast in Babylon united, like the descendants of Mahomet, both characters,) carefully examined and even repaired by Alexander in the course of his agricultural survey. Upon the canal Pallacopas leading to the more southern of the two lakes, the operations of the Macedonian workmen were of the most beneficial tendency. The Pallacopas, though bearing the appearance of a natural river, was not fed by springs, nor replenished by mountain snows, but flowing from the main trunk of the Euphrates served to mo-

SECT.
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His agricultural survey of this country.

vigated for the last time by two Grecian galleys, the sole remains of all his mighty preparations. Diodorus, l. xix. s. 12.

⁴⁴ Αλεξάνδρῳ γὰρ τὰς λίμνας ἐπέχρησε τὴν τῶν Εὐφράτης τῆν Ἀσσυρίαν γῆν ἀρδύειν, παραπλῖντι. Appian. Syriac. c. 56. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 741.

How is it possible to imagine with Vol. I.

Niebuhr, that the same person who made such exertions for the benefits of agriculture in one part of the country, should have removed the weirs or dams essential to irrigation in another? Vid. Niebuhr ubi supra.

⁴⁵ Conf. Arrian. l. vii. c. 22. and Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 181.

SECT. derate its redundant force by diverting part of its waters into
 V. the sea, through various and scarcely perceptible outlets. But this salutary drain being carried through too soft a soil, gradually scooped out and sunk its oozy bed; so that the Euphrates continued still to enter it after the summer inundation had ceased, and thereby lost that elevation necessary at other seasons for refreshing and fertilizing the adust Babylonian plain. Upon a careful examination of the circumjacent district, Alexander discovered only three miles distant from the head of the Pallacopas, a hard and rocky bottom. Through this firm ground, he commanded a new canal to be drawn; and the water being made thus to flow between solid banks, the inundations of the Euphrates were fitly controlled at one season, without too much depressing its surface at another⁴⁶.

Incident
 that hap-
 pened in it.

After this essential service had been rendered to Babylon, the king with a sailor's cap on his head, and steering his own vessel, followed the lower course of the Pallacopas, and surveyed the many turbid pools and reedy marshes, which, through a long series of neglect, deformed the southern coast. On this occasion a trivial occurrence gave birth to wonderful reports. A sudden gust of wind uncovered Alexander's head; his heavy cap fell near to him, and sunk in the water, but the encircling fillet or diadem floated at random in the air, till intercepted and caught among the reeds growing out of the lofty tomb of an ancient Assyrian king. A Tyrian mariner sprang into the lake to recover the royal ornament; and lest it should be soiled in the muddy water, wound it about his own brows, and thus swam back to Alexander. The king ordered the Phœnician's activity to be rewarded with a talent of silver; but his accompanying priests pronounced sentence of death on the man who had wantonly usurped the peculiar badge of empire. This superstitious cruelty was however restrained through Alexander's humane interference; and the sentence of death commuted for a slight corporal punishment. At a certain distance of time, when the

⁴⁶ Arrian, l. vii. c. 21.

circumstances of this incident were forgotten, the unguarded SECT. V. assumption of the diadem was transferred from an ignoble and nameless mariner to Seleucus Nicator, that in him it might be credulously construed into an omen of future greatness ⁴⁷.

Having completed his survey of the Pallacopas, and its adjacent marshes, for the waters of which he provided New city founded. proper outlets, Alexander terminated his progress through southern Babylonia, by the selection of a fit site for a stronghold and garrison. The place soon grew into a city peopled chiefly by Greeks incapable of field service, and by such others of their countrymen as wished to repose from their military labours in a remote and long neglected territory, to which their master had determined to restore its ancient and natural preeminence ⁴⁸.

Upon his return to Babylon from this peaceful expedition, Ship races on the Babylonian rivers. Alexander besides new levies of Barbarians, armed and disciplined after the Greek fashion, was joined by numerous bands of sailors attracted by great bounties, and the promise of high wages from the seafaring cities around the Mediterranean; among whom are particularly specified those who fished for the purple shell, not only on the coast of Phœnicia, but on many neighbouring shores ⁴⁹. The short remainder of his life was spent in military or naval reviews, and memorable for the novelty of ship races ⁵⁰ on the Euphrates and Tigris; an entertainment coupled with designs of much utility, and exhibited for the first and unfortunately the last time on the great Babylonian rivers.

The premature death of Alexander was lamented by many, His operations in Babylonia connected with others at the remote extremes of his empire. who seized not what is truly most lamentable in his story. His campaigns and battles have been described, but the more characteristic glories of his reign are shown to us by parcels, without that clear representation of the whole, which can alone give to each distinctive feature its full beauty and brilliancy. His transactions in Babylon were indeed intimately

⁴⁷ Arrian, l. vii. c. 22.

⁴⁸ Arrian and Strabo, l. xv.

⁴⁹ Arrian, l. vii. c. 19.

⁵⁰ Ibid. c. 23.

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V.

connected with his useful and magnificent establishments on the Indus and Jaxartes; with his operations in the forests of Hyrcania, and the contiguous iron mines of Margiana; and with the projected elongations of his empire to the outlying emporiums of Ethiopia and Tartessus. His ascendancy over the whole, he should seem to have deemed necessary to the best improvement of the parts: but in consequence of this ambitious reasoning, how multifarious soever his exertions, their ends were simple and definite; to enliven arts and industry, to introduce mutually beneficial intercourse, to harmonize institutions and manners. On the stock of convenience or necessity, he studied to ingraft the refinements of elegance, and the charms of social pleasure. Commerce was to be cultivated, not merely as the procuress of superfluous luxuries, but that the interchange of commodities might produce a reciprocation of sentiment and affection; and that the free, equal, and unobstructed communication among men of different countries might remove those local prejudices which prevented them from viewing each other as brethren ⁵¹.

Singular
liberality of
his policy.

With a view to this liberal policy, the famous nuptials were celebrated (ten thousand in a single day) between Greeks and Barbarians; the Asiatics of distinction were carefully disciplined not merely in the arms, but in the arts and attainments of their European conquerors; and as various colonies of Europeans had established themselves in Asia and Africa, other colonies in return were to be transported from those quarters of the world, and accommodated with secure settlements in Europe ⁵². The same generous spirit pervaded all his arrangements, military, financial, and political. In the judicious distribution of his troops, his garrisons served the useful purpose of staples or factories. Im-

⁵¹ To perceive the full merit of Alexander in this particular, our fancy must transport us to ancient times. In those ages the Greeks treated all other nations as Barbarians: the Romans denoted a stran-

ger and an enemy by one and the same word: (Cicero de Offic. l. i. c. 12.) local antipathies still more bitter prevailed, as we have seen, in Asia and Africa.

⁵² Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 4.

posts were moderate, and his collectors amenable to the laws on the smallest violation of justice. He allowed no people to tyrannize over another, and least of all his own haughty Macedonians, thereby restoring that equality and confidence which is the vital spring of both productive and commercial industry. Before this spring had been broken by the despotism of nations over nations, we have seen the wonderful exertions of the Babylonians and Egyptians for the extension of agriculture, and the singular institutions by which the Egyptian priests endeavoured to wean their subjects from a pastoral and wandering life. History is full of the labours of Alexander towards the same end, even during the progress of his conquests⁵³; an end of the utmost importance, since the preponderancy of barbarous Nomades has ever proved the greatest bane both of Asia and Africa.

By the arrangements which he made, and the style of war which he introduced, the central and civilized nations of the East, remained secure for nearly a century after him, against the fierce rovers of either the northern or southern deserts. This advantage peculiar to that period of time, together with the extent and contiguity of his dominions, entitled him to form plans of inimitable boldness. We have seen the vast multiplicity of his resources and auxiliaries. But the greatest resource of all was in his own mind. To attain personal excellence, no exertion seemed laborious; to promote excellence in others, no attention and no expense was spared. In one gratuity he bestowed eight hundred talents towards the improvement of natural history⁵⁴; a sum that bore no inconsiderable proportion to the annual pay of the army, with which he had achieved his conquests. On another occasion he sent ten thousand talents into Greece, to defray the repairs of temples and other public edifices⁵⁵. Alive to every kind of honourable talent, he entered with deep interest into the competitions of painters and musicians, showering liberality on those to whom the prize of merit had been adjudged, even

SECT.
V.

He formed
plans of
inimitable
boldness.

⁵³ Strabo, l. xi. Pliny, l. vi. and Plutarch. in Alexand.

⁵⁴ Athenæus, l. ix. p. 398.

⁵⁵ Plutarch in Alexand.

SECT.
V.

contrary to his own wishes⁵⁶; and the man who displayed such munificence in matters less immediately connected with his favourite purposes, could not be expected less eager in sharpening the dexterity of engineers, architects, ship builders, and all those agents or instruments by which his great royal works were to be effected. During the fervour of youth and the career of victory, he so nicely discriminated between impossibilities and mere difficulties, that none of his undertakings failed, nor were any of his projects likely to prove abortive. Upon this consideration, chiefly, his philosophical historian, warmed by an enthusiasm of reason, exclaims that Alexander was sent into the world by some peculiar providence, a man like to none other and whom both actions and designs became, that would become none besides⁵⁷.

Why entitled to do
no.

Without adopting this extraordinary praise, we may observe, that no other conqueror was ever entitled to embrace the same lofty views. The great Assyrian monarchy comprehended, as we have seen, only the eastern division of his empire. The Medes and Persians, who succeeded to the Assyrians, were incapacitated from forming any generous plans of public utility, by their ignorance, barbarism, tyranny and superstitious abhorrence of the sea, and a seafaring life. The Parthians, who came long after, were deformed by maxims not less illiberal, and by characters still more ferocious: and the Romans, who fought three centuries with the Parthians, without gaining from them the frontier province of Mesopotamia⁵⁸ would have been prevented by the interposition of these warlike barbarians, (even had their own maxims been less unfavourable to commerce) from reviving the useful links of communication, which Alexander had established between the countries of the East and West. Besides this, the Romans, as we shall see, disguised, without relinquishing⁵⁹, the odious tyranny of nations over nations;

⁵⁶ Plutarch in Alexand.

⁵⁷ Arrian, l. vii. sub fin.

⁵⁸ Juliani Casares, p. 324.

⁵⁹ Joseph. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16

a tyranny which had been asserted by all Asiatic conquerors before Alexander; and which has been exercised with tremendous despotism, by all the successive dynasties of Scythian, or Arabian, extraction, that since the downfall of the Macedonian power, have barbarized the finest countries of the earth; countries whose early prosperity, remounting beyond the far famed triumphs of Ninus and Semiramis, flourished in its utmost vigour before surrounding nations had yet beheld the gorgeous walls of Nineveh and Babylon, or crouched to those proud capitals, the bloodthirsty tyrants of prostrate provinces. Alexander alone had enough of real greatness to disdain all empty shadows of it. When the architect Stasicrates proposed to fashion mount Athos into his statue,⁶⁰ he observed coldly: "we will leave Athos unmolested; it is already the monument of royal folly⁶¹."

Yet the man who in other matters respected the "golden mean" was careless of this most important of all maxims in regard to his own person. The time and manner of his death illustrates, indeed, the vanity of all human affairs, but exemplifies also a practically more important lesson perpetually inculcated by his preceptor⁶²: namely, the inevitable ruin of the greatest designs and of the brightest characters through any considerable deficiency in point of any one moral virtue. In the cabinet and the field, Alexander's indefatigable body had kept pace with the activity of his mind; but in the festive entertainments, which preceded or followed great enterprises, he sometimes was betrayed by the social warmth of his disposition, (for in the use of wine he was habitually sparing⁶³,) into idle conflicts of intemperance and drunkenness, in which

⁶⁰ Plutarch in Alexand.

⁶¹ The allusion is to Xerxes' idle vanity in separating the promontory of Athos from the continent, and sailing between them. Herodot. l. vii. c. 21. Lysias in Orat. Funeb. and Isocrat. in Panegy. Juvenal, out of hatred to the Greeks, says maliciously, if not ignorantly,

Creditur olim,
Velificatus Athos, et quidquid Græcia
mendax
Audet in Historia, &c.

Satyr. x. v. 174.

⁶² See Aristotle's Ethics, throughout.

⁶³ Arrian, l. vii. sub fin.

SECT. honesty and open frankness are always the soonest worsted.
V.

Upon an occasion of this kind, the projected circumnavigation of Arabia, of which we have before spoken, after he had entertained Nearchus and his officers, he was passing from the banqueting room to the bath to prepare himself for rest, when his progress was interrupted by Medius, one of those persons called the king's friends, though many of them deserved a quite contrary appellation. They consisted of men of learning or information; poets, artists, philosophers, not excluding the votaries of wit, pleasantry, and convivial merriment, who, without any employment in the state or army, were admitted to the king's table and conversation, to vary the dull monotony of military life. Medius stopped Alexander to request his presence at a banquet, that was celebrating in another part of the palace, "because the company could not fail to please him"⁶⁴. The king too indulgently complied, since he retired from this second drinking bout, which was prolonged twenty-four hours, in a fever of which he died eleven days afterwards. On the third⁶⁵ day of his malady, he was able to hear from Nearchus a relation of some memorable occurrences in the Indian seas. He was repeatedly conveyed to a cool garden, on the lofty bank of the Euphrates, opposite to the royal palace, but without finding any relief to his burning heat. On the 4th and 5th days, he transacted public business, and gave some new directions concerning the purposed expedition to Arabia. Next morning, he attended the sacrifices with difficulty, and filled up some vacancies in the army. On the 8th day he was conveyed, for the last time, across the Euphrates, and again back to the palace. On the 10th the soldiers, deeply concerned for his safety, demanded to see their beloved general and sovereign. They were allowed to pass through his apartment in single file: the king was speechless, but affectionately stretched forth to them his hand. In the night following,

⁶⁴ Γινεσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔδον τον χρόνον. Diary, apud Plutarch in Alexand and Arrian, l. vii. c. 24.

⁶⁵ See an extract from the Royal

Seleucus and Python, two of the youngest *royal companions*, visited the temple of Serapis to consult that protecting divinity of commerce, whether Alexander should be carried to his shrine and immediate presence, that the malady which afflicted him, might be healed by divine aid. They received for answer that the king had best remain in his present situation; and his death immediately succeeding this oracular response, was, therefore, piously construed into the best thing that could befall him⁶⁵.

To these particulars recorded in the Royal Diary, it is added by Aristobulus⁶⁶, a contemporary biographer, that Alexander being asked, immediately before his dissolution, to whom he bequeathed the empire, replied, "to the strongest, for my obsequies, I know, will be celebrated by strenuous funeral games among my generals." This report, though invalidated by the silence of the Royal Diary, was greedily embraced by the Greeks, whom Homer had taught to believe that the soul, at taking its flight from the body, often clearly predicted the secrets of futurity⁶⁷. Even those who in later times affected to disregard this idle superstition, acknowledged the characteristic fitness of an answer, thus veiling the king's melancholy presages under his habitual magnanimity. Yet Alexander had not been guilty of the omission, to which able and busy men are found peculiarly liable. Sleep and love, he used to say, kept him in mind of his mortality⁶⁸; impressed with which reflection, he had made a full and clear testamentary disposition with regard to his whole dominions⁶⁹. In him, indeed, this precaution was the more natural and necessary, because the patrimony of his crown bore so small a proportion to the personal acquisitions of the king, that all notions of hereditary monarchy were lost in the boundless extent of conquest. The place chosen as the depository of this important instrument, was

SECT.
V.

And testament.

⁶⁵ Plutarch ubi supra, and Arrian, l. vii. c. 25.

⁶⁶ Apud Arrian, c. 26.

⁶⁷ Iliad, l. xvi. v. 850. Conf. Diodorus Siculus, l. xviii. c. 1.

⁶⁸ Plutarch in Alexand.

⁶⁹ Διαθήκεν ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς βασιλείας.

Diodorus, l. xx. s. 81.

SECT.
V.

the city of Rhodes, capital of the island of that name, which on various accounts Alexander regarded with much fond partiality⁷⁰. The Rhodians had early acknowledged his just ascendancy, and admitted a Macedonian garrison; a cordial correspondence subsisted between them and their protector; and the enterprising islanders, amidst the decline of greater commonwealths, had begun to assume their high station of preeminence as bold and liberal traders, the redoubted foes to piracy, the ingenious cultivators of arts, and the authors of those salutary marine laws destined to perpetuate their renown to the latest posterity. But in the matter of Alexander's testament, the Rhodians acted not consistently with their own character, or the favourable opinion which that prince had conceived of them. Their descendents always boasted⁷¹ with preposterous vanity, that Rhodes had once been in possession of a document so important to the world; but the deed itself, which many powerful persons had the strongest interest to cancel, never made its appearance; and Alexander's succession, except that for a reason to be explained presently, he had committed his ring or signet to Perdikkas, was left to be decided by the ambiguous laws of his country, and the discordant pretensions of his generals.

⁷⁰ He had married Barcina, Rhodians, constantly adorned his widow of Memnon the Rhodian; and person. Plutarch in *Alexand.* p. 684. a magnificent belt, the gift of the

⁷¹ Diodorus, l. xx. s. 81.

HISTORY

OF

THE WORLD,

FROM THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS.

CHAPTER I.

Heirs in the Family of Alexander. Their respective Incompetencies. Pretensions of his Generals. Their Proceedings conformable to their several Ranks and Situations. Arrhidæus chosen King by the Phalanx. Perdiccas's Character and Views. Those of Nearchus and Ptolemy. Bold Stratagem of Perdiccas, which terminates the Sedition. Division of the Provinces. Lamentations of Alexander's Asiatic Subjects. His late Funeral.

ALEXANDER is said to have died childless¹, an expression indicating that the Greeks did not regard as legitimate his offspring by Asian women, though this opinion was never declared, nor perhaps entertained by himself. The year before his return to Babylon he had married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian; and a twelvemonth after celebrating these nuptials, had espoused still more publicly Statira, eldest daughter to Darius². But as early as the second

CHAP.
I.

Heirs in
the family
of Alexander.
Olymp.
exiv. 2.

B. C. 323.

¹ Ἀλεξάνδρου τιτλιμυκτητος ἀπαίδος. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 2.

Arrian, l. vii. c. 4. Plutarch in Alexander.

² Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 107.

CHAP. year of his expedition, and nearly nine years before his death,

I.

there had been found in the surrender of Damascus, Barcina, widow of Memnon the Rhodian, and daughter to Artabazes, a Persian of distinction by a princess of the royal blood. The beauty of Barcina, and still more her amiable character and Grecian education³, recommended the Syrian captive to Alexander's bed. She bore to him a son, named Hercules, now in his fifth year⁴. Roxana was six months pregnant, and shortly after the king's death brought forth a son, called Alexander from his father. Statira, the daughter of Darius, who had been wedded with so much solemnity at Suza was not a mother. The deficiency in point of descendents was not supplied by collaterals deemed worthy of succeeding to the throne. Alexander's half brother Philip Arrhidæus, nearly of the same age with himself, had indeed been acknowledged, and royally educated by king Philip, though the son of a Thessalian dancing woman⁵. But Arrhidæus was a prince of a weak understanding, and an unambitious temper, who had followed the Macedonian camp, without bearing any command, or ever taking part in any important transaction⁶. Alexander's full sister, Cleopatra, after the death of her husband the dependent king of Epirus, had passed into Asia, less solicitous about finding there a new marriage suitable to her rank, than eager to indulge in the midst of a great army her unbounded gallantries. The incorrigible looseness of her behaviour was universally stigmatized even in that licentious age, and the object of contemptuous derision to Alexander himself⁷. Another sister called Cynna formed a sort of contrast with Cleopatra. Cynna⁸ was the daughter of an Illyrian named Euridice⁹, but far more resembled her warlike brother

Philip Arrhidæus.

Cleopatra, Cynna, and Euridice.

³ Plutarch in Alexand. p. 676.

⁴ Plutarch in Eumen.

⁵ Pausan. Arcad. c. vii. and Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 578.

⁶ Plutarch in Alexand.

⁷ When informed of her disorders, "leave her to enjoy," he said, "what she considers as her share in

the empire." Plut. *ibid.* p. 818.

⁸ Called Cynnana by Arrian apud Photium, p. 219.

⁹ Her original name, Audalas, had been changed into Euridice. Conf. Polyan. Stratag. l. viii. c. 60 and Ælian. Var. Hist. l. xiii. c. 36.

than did Cleopatra, who shared his blood by both parents. Her husband Amyntas having aspired to the throne on the death of his uncle Philip, had by the sentence of his country been consigned to the punishment of unsuccessful rebellion. Cynna followed Alexander into Asia, assumed the lance and helmet, and delighted to fight in the first ranks¹⁰. To the same martial accomplishments, in which herself excelled, she devoted and trained her daughter by the unfortunate Amyntas, who bore the family name of Euridice; and whose character, as we shall see hereafter, well corresponded with her education. Yet neither Cynna nor Euridice, any more than the voluptuous profligacy of Cleopatra, were ever thought of in the great question of succession to the empire; custom without any express declaration having established a sort of Salic law forbidding the government of women over freemen and soldiers.

Besides the posterity of Alexander and his father Philip, three generals of great renown boasted of a more remote descent from the royal family. These were Leonnatus and Perdicas, both present in Babylon, and Antigonus then residing¹¹ as governor of Phrygia in the center of the Asiatic peninsula. These ambitious men were likely to urge with keenness their double pretensions of birth and merit; whereas Ptolemy, though in both respects above them, was contented to be thought the son of Lagos, and had been treated by Alexander with more fraternal regard because he had never claimed the name of brother¹². In addition to these four, there were ten other generals who, from the glory of their exploits, and the high rank, which, as will be explained presently, they held in Alexander's service, could not be excep-

CHAP.
I.

Generals of
the blood
royal.

Ten other
generals of
high pre-
tensions.

¹⁰ Diodorus, l. xix. s. 52. and Athenæus, l. iv. p. 155. She is said by Ptolemy, l. viii. c. 6. to have slain with her own hand Cæria a rival heroine, queen of the Phrygians, (read) *Illyrians*. She must have ac-

companied either Philip or Alexander in their Illyrian warfare.

¹¹ Dexippus apud Photium, p. 220. and Arrian, l. i. c. 30.

¹² Curtius, l. ix. c. 8.

CHAP. I. ted easily to acknowledge a superior. Of these, seven were then present in Babylon; Lysimachus, Aristonous, Python, Seleucus, Eumenes, Meleager, Nearchus¹³; of the three remaining, Peucestes, whose heroism had saved the life of his master in the assault of the Mallian fortress, resided¹⁴ in his government of Persis, the proper Persia; Antipater continued to govern with almost royal power Greece and Macedon; and Craterus, an old general wedded to the customs of his country, and of great popularity in the army, was marching with ten thousand veterans through Cilicia¹⁵, that they might be exchanged for a greater number of new recruits from Europe. This long list of generals, most of them men of fierce spirits and unprincipled ambition, the policy as well as the magnanimity of Alexander had overawed. In each province, he had separated the departments of the purse and of the sword; and for the protection of his subjects at large, had established firm barriers of justice guarded with unceasing vigilance. But to uphold such a fabric required the abilities of him who had erected it; and no two things could be more widely at variance than the exigencies of the empire and the condition of the royal line; the weakness of Arrhidæus, the nonage of Hercules, the precarious expectance of Roxana's pregnancy. Yet both Greeks and Barbarians looked for a lawful sovereign in the family of their late king: and the merits of his lieutenants were so equally balanced, that it would not be easy to decide which of them should hold the regency.

Deliberation concerning the regency and succession.

To deliberate concerning both the succession and administration, the principal officers assembled in the palace the day after Alexander's death. The deliberation itself as well as the transactions immediately following it, have hitherto been represented as a blind scramble for power among profligate and daring usurpers. Their proceedings, indeed, are transmitted to us from antiquity, through the medium of obscure

¹³ Dexippus et Arrian apud Phot. et Curtius, l. x. c. 6.

¹⁵ Phot. Eclog. p. 201. and p. 215. and Arrian, l. vii. c. 12.

¹⁴ Arrian, l. vi. c. 30.

fragments¹⁶, or flowery declamation¹⁷. But a careful study of this illustrious reign, and of the Macedonian institutions, will show that in the whole buisiness, there was much regularity, and particularly that affairs still followed the impulse which Alexander had given to them, the parts acted by his generals exactly corresponding to their respective situations in his army. The composition of this army will therefore first require our attention.

CHAP.
I.

The parts acted by Alexander's generals corresponded with their respective stations.

The Macedonian Phalanx consisted at first of six, and afterwards of sixteen thousand spearmen, arranged sixteen in depth. In its usual order it occupied a line of three thousand feet, but could contract itself in a charge to one half of that length¹⁸. By its depth, compactness, and the nature of its weapons, this body of infantry surmounted every enemy both in the time of Alexander, and that of his immediate successors. But in the wars between the followers of those princes, and the Romans, the phalanx was shown to be in itself a very incomplete¹⁹ instrument of victory; it depended on the co-operation of lighter troops, for removing obstacles, for covering its flank, and for giving it a fair opportunity to exercise in front its invariably resistless strength. In the reign of Alexander, these essential auxiliaries to the Phalanx consisted of the hypaspists, a body of three thousand light infantry²⁰; and of the *equestrian companions*, a regiment of two thousand and forty-eight horse. When the Phalanx was doubled from sixteen to thirty-two thousand spearman, these lighter troops might in the same proportion be augmented, still preserving the original modes of division by which their respective systems were distinguished. In the formation and

The Phalanx with its essential auxiliaries.

¹⁶ The Excerpts from Dexippus and Arrian in Photius, p. 200—215.

¹⁷ Curtius, l. x. c. 5. & seq.

¹⁸ Ο πύσσωνος ἀνὴρ κατὰ χιτῶνα, Cardinal Bessarion's Grammar from an ancient treatise on the Phalanx.

¹⁹ The defeats of the latter Macedonian kings arose from their con-

sidering the Phalanx as αὐτάρκης, all sufficient in itself. Polybius, l. xviii. c. 12—15.

²⁰ Πιζιταῖοι θάυμαστοι καὶ σὺν κραταίμοι, that admirable and indefatigable light infantry. Demost. Olynth. c. vi. The Romans called the hypaspists cetrati. T. Liv. l. xlv. c. 41. and passim.

CHAP. I. employment of his *hypaspists* and *companions*, Alexander showed his superiority to all generals. He always charged in person with the first division of the latter, therefore called the royal squadron²¹: and to the ability with which he performed this service, and was seconded in it by those accompanying him, every one of his great victories is principally to be ascribed.

The Companions and their leaders.

The *companions* were divided into eight squadrons, respectively commanded by persons the highest in public esteem, and whose military rank commonly opened their way to the first offices in the empire. At the time of their master's death, these eight commanders are enumerated in the following order; Perdikkas, Leonnatus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Aristonous, Python, Seleucus, and Eumenes²²; names that hitherto depressed by Alexander's matchless fame, were now to break forth and long to resound through the ancient world. In this body of indefatigable cavalry employed in perpetual warfare, the vacancies were supplied with emulation from the best troops in the service; and every one of its leaders, except Perdikkas, now the first in rank, and successor to the unhappy Clitus, had been substituted in the stead of others who had gloriously fallen in the arms of victory.

The king's lieutenants called body guards.

The command of the companions naturally led to the highest dignity in the state, expressed by a word which literally denotes nothing more than *body-guard*. The body-guards were seven in number at the time of Alexander's decease, ranking in the following order; Leonnatus, Perdikkas, Aristonous, Ptolemy, Python, Peucestes²³. The appellation of *body-guard* did not express the real nature of their office; for the proper guards of the king were the first company of hypaspists, and the first squadron of companions.

²¹ ἡν βασιλεὺς. Arrian, l. vi. c. 9. and also, τὸ ἀγῆμα, "the admirable band," for ἀγῆμα διὰ τὸ ἀγῆτον, ὃ ἐστὶ βαρμασίων. Eustath. in Odyss. p. 1399.

²² Arrian de Rebus post Alexan-

drum in Phot. p. 215.

²³ Conf. Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. vi. c. 28. et Arrian. et Dexippus apud Photium, ubi supra.

In his exercises and amusements, and the daily rites of religious worship, he was attended by the royal pages, youths of noble descent, who ministered at his table, and nightly slept before his chamber in the palace, and his tent in the field²⁴. But several of those called the *body-guards* were commonly near to the person of their master: they formed collectively his council both civil and military; they were a sort of lieutenants or deputies always ready to aid him in important functions, to divide with him the duties of administration, and occasionally to supply his place²⁵. They consisted, as will appear on comparison, of nearly the same persons with the leaders of the *equestrian companions*. The first six names occur in the lists of both: Peucestes only, the seventh *body-guard*, had not any command in the *royal horse*; and neither Eumenes nor Seleucus, though commanding their respective troops of horse, and though the former was confidential secretary to the king, had yet attained the rank of *body-guard* or lieutenant. To the six names common to both lists, we must therefore add those of Eumenes, Seleucus, and Peucestes; which generals together with the viceroys Antipater and Antigonus, with Meleager and Craterus favourite leaders of the Phalanx, and with Nearchus commander of the fleet, were entitled to act the principal part in the disposal of their master's empire, and the bloody drama which accompanied it. Of these fourteen persons on whom the revolutions of that part of the world which fall within the sphere of ancient history long continued to turn, ten were present in Babylon; four were employed at a distance in the important concerns already mentioned as respectively intrusted to them.

CHAP.
I.

The affairs of the empire turned on those 14 persons.

The ten present; and particularly Perdiccas, to whom as standing at their head²⁶, Alexander had committed the ring

The phalanx declares Arrhidæus king.

²⁴ Curtius, l. v. c. 1.

²⁵ Arrian, Curtius, Diodorus, and Plutarch.

²⁶ The reason will appear clearly hereafter, why Perdiccas, who was

at the head of the *companions*, was preferred to Leonnatus, although the latter stood immediately before him in the *body-guards*.

CHAP. I. or signet by which he confirmed acts of royal authority,

summoned to the palace their friends and adherents, consisting of most of the officers commanding inferior divisions of the army. But while this council of chiefs was still employed in deliberation, the phalanx had already resolved. The opinions of the chiefs varied with their interests, but the multitude were prepared to follow, all of them, the same impulse; since they only desired a king of the royal house who might conduct them safely home, to enjoy their wealth and fame with their friends and families. Without waiting for the decision of their superiors, the troops of the line being left by the absence of most of their officers to the capricious instigation of the busiest and boldest in their own number, proclaimed as king Philip Arrhidæus, who, had he been Alexander's full brother on the mother's side, instead of deriving his ignoble descent, from a Thessalian courtesan²⁷, would have forfeited all pretensions to the throne, by the inveterate weakness of his understanding²⁸. The news of this transaction, which were immediately brought to the council, needed not, in as far as Arrhidæus was concerned, greatly to have alarmed the generals; since under the name of this pageant, one of themselves must necessarily be called to govern. But the man pointed out by Alexander for the delegated power of regent, aspired to the sovereignty in his own person, in case Roxana should not bring forth a son; others hoped conformably to the Macedonian usage, to be named protectors of the kingdom during the minority of Hercules — the son of Barcina; and a third party more discerning than either, deemed the conqueror's dominions too vast for consolidation, and were anxious chiefly to carve out for themselves separate and valuable establishments. Amidst this discordancy of personal views, the generals of the guards and cavalry as well as the privileged bodies of men whom they command-

Views of
the different
generals.

²⁷ Γυναικὸς κοινῆς, Plutarch. Parallel. p. 707. The meaning of the epithet is decided by Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 578, who calls her *οὐ γὰρ εἰς*, a public dancing girl.

²⁸ Ψυχικὸς ἁδὲν ἀνίας Diodor. l. xviii. f. 2. Conf. Plutarch. Vit. Parallel. Alexand. et Cæsar. vers. fin.

ed, were all alike indignant that the phalanx or troops of the line, the more ignoble portion of the army, should usurp the sole power of appointing a successor to the empire. CHAP. —

Meleager, a member of the council, was immediately sent to remonstrate with, and control, the licentious soldiery²⁹. But this weighty business was unfortunately committed to a man the worst calculated of any for executing it honestly. The envy natural to his character had been stigmatized by his late master³⁰. Without hopes of obtaining for himself the first rank, he was willing to throw all into confusion rather than behold a superior. His popularity with the troops of the line, was employed only as an instrument of sedition. Instead of condemning their unwarrantable pretensions, he encouraged them to persevere in maintaining their just rights. If force became necessary "his abilities had been often tried as their leader." Through the unprincipled audacity of Meleager, the breach between the two divisions of the army might have been rendered incurable, had not Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Eumenes³¹, presuming on the affection of the soldiers, interposed their seasonable mediation, and procured with the consent of all parties, a new and more legitimate assembly for deciding the greatest prize to which human ambition ever ventured to aspire.

The chiefs convened in the great hall of the palace, which was on all sides thrown open, displaying in its center to the surrounding multitude, the throne, the diadem, and the arms of their bewailed sovereign. Perdiccas' character still more than his rank, entitled him to act the chief part on this solemn occasion. He was a man, who, to the accomplishments of a polished age, added the ferocious loftiness of ancient heroes; and whose inward qualities were faithfully

Meleager
fomentsthe
sedition of
the pha-
lanx.

A new as-
sembly in
which Per-
diccas acts
the chief
part.

²⁹ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 2. and Arrian apud Phot. ubi supra.

³⁰ When Meleager invidiously blamed Alexander's generosity to the Indian prince Taxiles, Curtius says, "Rex iram quidem tenuit, sed

dixit, invidos homines nihil aliud quam ipsorum esse tormenta." l. viii. c. 12.

³¹ 'Οι χρησιμῶσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Diodorus ubi supra.

CHAP.
I.

portrayed in his person and aspect. In the mere wantonness of valour he is said to have assailed the den of a lioness, and robbed her of her young³². Of herculean strength, his swelling courage seemed still to require a more gigantic frame; his ambition was beyond measure aspiring, and his confidence in his good fortune equally unbounded. At first leaving Macedon, when Alexander divided his whole property among his friends, saying that he retained only hope for himself; Perdiccas alone rejected the proffered bounty of the king, maintaining that being zealous to share his dangers, he was entitled also to participate in his hopes³³. The dignity of this sentiment was justified in the various scenes of a long and strenuous warfare, through which Perdiccas had risen to fair preeminence; and as the first in his master's council, had been chosen for the custody of the royal signet, when the king's sinking eyes surveyed the sad countenances of his friends who stood silent around him³⁴.

His proposal.

Yet Perdiccas, bold as he was, trembled at the giddy height to which fortune seemed ready to exalt him. With melancholy slowness he advanced into the middle of the assembly, and deposited on the chair of state the signet with which he had been honoured, thereby divesting himself of the authority which that symbol was supposed by his partisans to convey. Then raising his mournful eyes, "Never," he said, "my fellow soldiers, did any misfortune surpass that by which we are all afflicted. But from the extraordinary designs and attainments of him whom we deeply regret, there was reason to fear that the gods would only lend him to the world, and speedily recal him to the celestial mansions. The mind of Alexander for ever lives; let due honours be now paid to his mortal body, mindful where, and among whom, his high destinies have placed us. The empire requires a head, whether one or many, you must decide. Roxana is now six months pregnant. Would to heaven she bring forth

³² *Ælian. Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 39.*

Alexand.

³³ *Plutarch, Orat. ii. de Fortun.*

³⁴ *Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 2.*

a son to inherit his father's kingdom! meanwhile do you determine who shall provisionally exercise the government³⁵." CHAP. I.

The short silence which followed, was interrupted by Nearchus, recently ennobled by his naval exploits, and the king's distinguished favour. He maintained with Perdikkas that a successor to the throne was to be sought only in the family of Alexander, "but wherefore should the doubtful expectance of Roxana's pregnancy be preferred to a prince in existence. Hercules the son of Barcina is sprung from our revered sovereign, and to him his father's scepter ought in justice to devolve." The phalanx marked disapprobation by angrily clashing their armour³⁶. Of this displeasure Ptolemy endeavoured to avail himself with dexterity for promoting his favourite views. Ptolemy as the son of Philip, highly honoured by Alexander, and singularly beloved by the troops, might have aspired with no mean prospect of success to fill the vacant throne. But of this prudent and lettered prince, the abilities, which rendered him the worthiest of that honour, also enabled him to calculate its uneasiness and danger. His sagacity was too discerning to allow him for a moment to provoke a comparison with his deceased brother. He wished rather to confirm the opinion that the scepter of that extraordinary man was too heavy for any individual arm to wield; that his dominions being divided among many, his own merit might attain the object which he appears early to have had in view³⁷, and be rewarded with a separate establishment in the wealthy and secure kingdom of Egypt.

To promote this moderate and solid plan of ambition, Ptolemy rose in the assembly with a look of angry disdain, the more impressive from his habitual mildness. "The sons of Roxana and Barcina! to what purpose have we conquered the Barbarians, if we are determined to serve their posterity?

³⁵ Curtius, l. x. c. 6.

³⁶ Id. *ibid*.

³⁷ Αυτός (Ptolemy) μέλλει γενέσθαι

εις τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀνηννομήματα.
Pausanias Attic. p. 3.

CHAP. My advice is far different. Let the throne of Alexander remain immovable in his palace. Around this, let his friends

I.

assemble, those friends whom he summoned to his council. We shall deliberate boldly, yet wisely, under the influence of our godlike sovereign; and with the result of such deliberations the governors of distant provinces will be bound strictly to comply³⁸." Strange as this proposal may appear, we shall see it realized three years afterwards by Eumenes. The throne of Alexander was actually invested, and, as it were, animated with a revered sovereignty: so wonderful was the ascendancy which that conqueror had acquired over the minds of his followers! But on the present occasion, the phalanx joined with the cavalry in testifying loud disapprobation.

Proposal of
Aristonous
in favour of
Perdiccas.

Emboldened by this circumstance, Aristonous of Pella, a *companion* and *lifeguard*, zealous in the cause of Perdiccas and the indivisibility of the empire, ventured to assert openly and warmly the exclusive title of his friend to the supreme administration. "Wherefore Macedonians! should we still agitate a question which Alexander himself has decided? By giving his signet to Perdiccas he clearly showed by whom it was his intention that his place should be supplied. By declaring Perdiccas regent, we shall fulfil the will of him whom we all loved when living, and now revere when dead." A shout of applause followed, which drowned the opposing murmurs; many exhorting Perdiccas to assume the badge of power, with which his master had invested him. But that general, with an affected cowardice in the council, of which he had never shown any signs in the field, delayed in seeming hesitation, thinking that the less eagerly he seized the prize, the more earnestly it would be pressed on him: and when disappointed in this expectation, his presence of mind totally forsook him: he staggered on the precipice to which he had already climbed, and fell headlong down, when the summit was within his grasp. Instead of advancing to the chair of

Irresol-
ution of the
latter.

³⁸ Cartius, l. x. c. 6.

state, he retired behind the military circle, by which it was surrounded. His confusion attesting, as it seemed, his unworthiness, dismayed his partisans, and encouraged his adversary Meleager, who had already sounded the trumpet of sedition, to revive and urge the strong domestic claims of Philip Arrhidæus.

Meleager was answered by Python the son of Crateas, a Python's native of Ithaca³⁹. Python, though a stranger, had been raised through merit to the rank of *companion* and *lifeguard*. To such a man, abilities alone appeared the legitimate source of public honour. Forgetting that the gentle and generous nature of Arrhidæus had endeared him to his Macedonian countrymen, he spoke in such contemptuous terms of the unworthy brother of Alexander, as excited indignation against himself, and lively compassion for the object of his ill advised insult. The resentment of the phalanx was warmly adopted, and distinctly expressed, by Meleager; who concluded a furious harangue by maintaining that "whoever might be declared heir to the throne, the soldiers themselves were joint heirs to the treasure." The assembly was thrown into disorder by his violence. The chiefs and better sort reproached his proceedings as equally insolent and outrageous. He was compelled to retire with his adherents in the infantry, but returned repeatedly to the palace with the greedy multitude, carrying with them the unfortunate Arrhidæus, at once their king and their prisoner⁴⁰.

To defeat the seditious purposes of Meleager, Ptolemy joined the party of Perdiccas; the whole of the cavalry supported the same cause. It was determined therefore by the assembly, that Perdiccas and Leonnatus, the former of whom had been placed by Alexander at the head of the *companions*, and the latter at that of the *lifeguards*, should be appointed

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I.

insult to
Arrhidæus
drives Me-
leager and
his adhe-
rents from
the council.

The chiefs
settle the
regency
and then
remove
from Baby-
lon.

³⁹ Arrian. Hist. Indic. Yet in Exped. Alexand. l. vi. c. 18. he calls Python a native of Eordia. His father an Ithacan, had settled in that

district of Macedon.

⁴⁰ Diodorus, Curtius, and Arrian; ubi supra.

CHAP. joint regents of the kingdom; and that in all things the intention of their late monarch might be complied with, Perdiccas, as intrusted with his signet, was named first in the commission. Having made this hasty settlement of the empire, they were exhorted by Ptolemy to leave the city, lest they should be attacked at disadvantage, and overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the infantry. Leonnatus, Lysimachus, Seleucus, with the three other commanders of the *companions*, immediately followed Ptolemy without the walls of Babylon, and encamped in the plain of the Euphrates, directly opposite to the royal palace.

Perdiccas alone remains in contempt of the infantry.

His heroism.

Perdiccas alone scorned this resolution. With the division of horsemen whom he commanded, he remained in the midst of his enemies, bent on washing out by some deed of renown, the disgrace which he had recently incurred in the assembly. When informed of this audacity, Meleager failed not to exhort Arrhidæus to remove his principal adversary, who had madly put himself in his hands. The silence of the new king, who feared his professed subjects not less than his declared enemies, was construed into consent; and a powerful detachment was sent to bring Perdiccas to the royal presence, with orders, in case of his refusal, to show him no mercy. That general who had many partisans among the infantry, was seasonably informed of the blow ready to fall on him. His conduct had been rash in the extreme: but he had learned from Alexander that dangers incurred by boldness, may by more incredible boldness be surmounted. With the noble youths unalterably attached to his fortune, he took post near the threshold of his door; and when Meleager's soldiers approached to seize him, showed such confidence of mien to those assailants, upbraiding them as mean slaves to a contemptible master, that instead of executing their commission, they returned in dismay to their employer. Having thus braved his enemies, he rode unmolested with his friends through the streets of Babylon, and joined the rest of the cavalry encamped without the city, on the contiguous plain.

In the short-lived exercise of usurped power, the multitude have always been found as variable as the sea; but like the waves too of that boisterous yet passive element, they all uniformly follow, for the moment, the same directing influence. Perdicas's magnanimity not only increased his partisans among the infantry; it alienated the whole phalanx from Arrhidæus, and highly incensed them against Meleager. Their ungoverned anger was ready to hurry them to the wildest vengeance, when an unforeseen cause of alarm, changed the tempestuous current of their passions. Detachments of horse being employed to scour the country round Babylon, interrupted all supplies to that still populous city, which, through the jealousy of the Persians had long ago been deprived of its exhaustless magazines. In the course of three days, the inconvenience of scarcity was succeeded by the pressure of want. The citizens complained; the soldiers threatened; and all urged an immediate accommodation with enemies, by whom they were in danger of being famished.

An embassy was sent for this purpose to Perdicas, who having now resumed his post as head of the companions, declared that no terms of reconciliation could be adjusted, until the authors of the sedition were surrendered to punishment. Those conscious of guilt were alarmed, and all were enraged at this unexpected sternness. The most audacious exhorted their fellow soldiers to sally from the gates, and join battle with the cavalry. They were likely to prevail, when Arrhidæus displayed a degree of humanity ennobled by spirit, which does not appear in any other passage of his life. Exposing his person fearlessly to the angry multitude, he conjured them to relinquish their sanguinary purpose; "If this diadem can be retained only by the wounds and death of Macedonians, I will divest myself of the odious ornament." So saying he tore the badge of royalty from his head, and holding it in his outstretched hand, "resume," he continued, "the fatal present, give it to some one worthier than me, if he can preserve the splendid possession unstained

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I.

Sadden

changes in

the minds

of the in-

fantry.

Arrhidæus

shows un-

usual spirit.

CHAP. I. by civil blood." This seasonable interposition produced, instead of a battle, a new embassy. Both divisions of the army were agreeably surprised at the generous boldness of Arrhidæus; and Perdiccas, instead of insisting on the condition before required, was under the necessity of admitting the pretensions of this prince to the royal name and dignity, and of consenting to a new commission of regency, by which Meleager was joined in the supreme administration with himself and Leonnatus.

Bold and bloody stratagem of Perdiccas, which puts an end to the sedition.

But with this unpromising form of divided sovereignty, Perdiccas had connected a daring scheme for the destruction of his enemies. For clearing away the guilt of past offences, and healing secret dissention, the Macedonians employed an ancient and sacred ceremony, resembling the *lustrum* of the Romans, with only one principal difference between them, that the Macedonian *lustrum* did not return regularly at stated periods. In this solemn and religious review, custom placed the king at the head of the cavalry. In celebrating the *lustrum* Arrhidæus would thus be withdrawn from the infantry commanded by Meleager, and placed in the middle of the *equestrian companions*, a change of much importance, since whoever was master of the person of that weak prince would be able for the moment to direct his measures. On the suggestion of Perdiccas the solemnity of expiation was announced on the great plain adjacent to the city. When the appointed day arrived, the whole of the troops, horse, foot, and elephants, were formed in battle array, with the king and generals at their respective posts. But before the principal and most whimsical rite was performed, of throwing from both extremities of the line the mangled bowels of a riven dog⁴¹, the king, accompanied by Perdiccas, rode towards the phalanx demanding the first authors of the mutiny. The cavalry was unanimous; the infantry divided; and the authority of the king, of their own choice, was now turned

⁴¹ Curtius, l. x. c. 9. In the Roman *lustrum*, the sacrifice consisted of a boar, a ram, and a bull—thence

it was called *suovetaurilia*. Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 44.

against the latter. Perdikkas availed himself of their confusion, to draw from the line about three hundred noted incendiaries; and without waiting for the approbation or dissent of Arrhidæus, ordered them to be exposed to the elephants; and in sight of the whole army trampled under foot by those fierce animals. This horrid spectacle terminated the sedition, for the ordinary rites of atonement for past discord, were then performed quietly and in due form. Meleager alone distrusted, on good grounds, the general amnesty. He fled to a neighbouring temple; but even this asylum did not long protect him from the fate justly merited by his profligate ambition⁴².

The boldness and rapidity of those proceedings confirmed the authority of Perdikkas. At his command, a new council convened for settling the empire. According to the former arrangement, Leonnatus, as standing at the head of the *lifeguards*, had been joined with him in the regency. A prince of the blood of Macedon, and distinguished by the graceful dignity of his presence, Leonnatus had been selected for soothing the captive family of Darius after the battle of Issus. His hair-breadth escapes in battle, and his ardour in sharing the fatigues and dangers of his admired master, had raised him to that preeminence in the service, which naturally pointed him out for a share in the regency. But with many showy qualities Leonnatus was totally unfit for the office now assigned him. He was disgraced by levity of character, by ostentation, and luxury⁴³; and his faults appeared in all their deformity when he was called upon to act a principal part himself, instead of obeying the commands of his sovereign. His genius shrunk before the energy of Perdikkas; with whom he cooperated submissively during their joint authority, and into whose hands he resigned, in presence

⁴² Conf. Curtius, l. x. c. 9. and this period. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 3.

Phot. Cod. xliii. Diodorus errs with regard to Meleagar, whom he mentions as governor of Lydia after

⁴³ Plutarch in Eumen. *Eliau*, Var. Hist. l. ix. c. 3. and Suidas.

CHAP. I. of the council, his partnership in supreme power for the government of Hellespontian Phrygia: a situation seemingly unimportant, yet essential in his opinion to the wild projects, by which, as will appear hereafter, his inconstancy was then agitated⁴⁴. In king Arrhidaeus, Perdiccas had reason to expect the same nullity of opposition to his will, which he would have experienced as administrator of the kingdom for the expected offspring of Roxana. But according to his first proposal, he persisted in maintaining the rights of that unborn heir to the throne. The council concurred with him in declaring, that if Roxana brought forth a son, he should be associated with Arrhidaeus in the nominal sovereignty. The contingency soon after happened, and the posthumous son of Alexander being honoured with his father's name, was treated as coheir to the empire⁴⁵.

Division of
the provin-
ces.

These matters of mere formality being adjusted, Perdiccas proceeded to the more important business of dividing the provinces, and thereby removing, in due time, such rivals in authority with the army, as might have proved very serious obstacles to his views. In this act of partition, the prudence of Ptolemy obtained the rich and well-secured province of Egypt: Lysimachus, himself of a fierce and stubborn character, was thought a fit governor for the war-like Thracians: Peucestes, another of the *lifeguards*, was confirmed in his authority over the imperial district of Persis. The Greater and Lesser Phrygia, were respectively intrusted to Antigonus and Leonnatus. Eumenes was named to Cappadocia; and Pythen⁴⁶ to Media. Craterus was joined with Antipater in the administration of Greece and Macedon. Seleucus the youngest commander over the equestrian companions, was placed as lieutenant to Perdiccas, at the head of that illustrious corps; and Aristonous, unprovided with any separate province, attended the regent as his confidential

⁴⁴ Plutarch.

⁴⁵ Arrian and Curtius, *ibid*.

⁴⁶ The name is written Python by Diodorus.

friend; and ready coadjutor in the government of the empire⁴⁷. CHAP.

I.
According to this arrangement, every one was promoted suitably to the rank, which at the time of Alexander's death, he held in the service. Nearchus the Cretan, alone, seems to have thought himself slighted. His great naval abilities were no longer in request. He repaired, therefore, to his friend Antigonus in the Greater Phrygia; whose fortunes he continued thenceforward to share in life, and with whom he was united in death⁴⁸. The other provinces were provisionally committed to the generals commanding in them.

The act of partition appeared in a very different light to Perdiccas, and to the other parties concerned in it. When Ptolemy first proposed the division of the empire, he meant that each general should hold the share allotted to him in full sovereignty. His own judicious choice of Egypt, a country defended on three sides by deserts, marshes, and a great river, and whose fourth side along a difficult sea-coast might easily be protected by a watchful fleet, was exactly conformable to his original plan, and entitled him to form well-grounded hopes of founding a separate monarchy. The other generals entertained similar expectations with various degrees of probability: whereas Perdiccas looked on them all as so many dangerous vassals, whom he might overpower successively by means of his controlling army, and the command which he enjoyed, as regent, over the royal treasuries in different strong-holds of the empire.

While the generals of Alexander prepared to benefit by his premature fate, the task of sincerely lamenting it was left to his inferior subjects. The superstition of the Greeks believed that he had mysteriously prophesied the disasters consequent on his death: but these disasters were foreseen

⁴⁷ Conf. Arrian, and Dexipp. san. Attic. c. 6.

apud Phot. ubi supra. Diodorus, l. xiii. s. 4. Appian, Syriac, and Pau-

⁴⁸ In the battle of Ipsus, of which below.

The views of Perdiccas different from those of the other generals.

Alexander's death peculiarly lamented by his Asiatic subjects.

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and bewailed even by the promiscuous crowd that filled the streets of Babylon. To the vanquished Asiatics, who had experienced his protection and clemency, and to the victorious Europeans, who had shared his fame and glory, it seemed impossible to supply the place of a common benefactor, who, to his higher merits, joined those obliging attentions which conciliate public affection, and that habitual alertness of spirit and alacrity of aspect which inspire unbounded confidence. The Macedonians regretted that they, who had so long fought for the glory of their country, must be called to an ignoble contest for the choice of a master. The different nations of Asiatics who had successively tyrannized over each other, lamented, that instead of an indulgent and equal sovereign, who complied with their hereditary usages, yet softened the hand of despotism, they must lie in future at the mercy of insolent foreigners, many of whom delighted in trampling on their opinions as well as persons. Agreeably to their respective customs, both Greeks and Barbarians spontaneously assumed the external emblems⁴⁹ of their inward sorrow. The news of Alexander's death proved fatal to Sisygambis, the mother of Darius; and as the intelligence spread from Babylon, the center, to the extremities of the empire, all descriptions of persons bewailed with the same breath, the premature fate of their king, torn from them by the envy⁵⁰ of the gods; and the forlorn condition of his once happy subjects.

His late
funeral.

Yet neither the regret felt, nor the evils foreseen, had moderated the proceedings of men domineered by ambition, and long inured to arms and blood. With difficulty the pub-

⁴⁹ Περὶ μὲν τοῦτα. Diodorus. Conf. Curtius, l. x. c. 5.

⁵⁰ Plato and Aristotle, in various passages of their works, exert

themselves to correct the impious absurdities of paganism concerning the envy of the gods.

lic lamentation recalled their attention to their master's remains, which, amidst the vile scrambles of interest, had lain several days neglected in the sultry climate of Babylon⁵¹. Orders were at length issued by Perdiccas for embalming the body, and for its pompous interment within the precincts of Hammon's temple in Libya. But the obsequies were not celebrated till two years afterwards, when Alexander was buried, not in Hammon's temple, as he was said to have commanded, but by an alteration (accompanied, as we shall see, with important consequences), in the city of Alexandria in Egypt, which he had founded; and not until many of the slain bodies of his friends had been deposited in their tombs. This late honour to his memory would ill appease his indignant shade, justly provoked at the total dereliction of the vast and beneficial schemes which had occupied him in life; the improvements of his fleet and army, his discoveries by sea and land, the productive and commercial industry which he had made to flourish, and that happy intercourse of sentiment and affection in which he had laboured to unite the great nations of the East. After his controlling mind had withdrawn, the system which he had formed and actuated fell in pieces, and instead of consentient members, exhibited rather jarring elements. Yet, during the distracted period of twenty-two years, preceding the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, which finally decided the pretensions of his followers, many great events deserve commemoration, and many splendid characters solicit regard. Their brightness, indeed, was hitherto dimmed by the matchless effulgence of Alexander; and their individual renown is still lessened by their shining together in one constellation. To an hasty and impatient survey, their history presents a wild maze of crimes and calamities; but in a full and connected narrative, their transactions will in-

CHAP.
I.

Transition
to the his-
tory of his
successors.

⁵¹ Plutarch in Alexand.

CHAP.

I.

portrayed in his person and aspect. In the mere wantonness of valour he is said to have assailed the den of a lioness, and robbed her of her young³². Of herculean strength, his swelling courage seemed still to require a more gigantic frame; his ambition was beyond measure aspiring, and his confidence in his good fortune equally unbounded. At first leaving Macedon, when Alexander divided his whole property among his friends, saying that he retained only hope for himself; Perdiccas alone rejected the proffered bounty of the king, maintaining that being zealous to share his dangers, he was entitled also to participate in his hopes³³. The dignity of this sentiment was justified in the various scenes of a long and strenuous warfare, through which Perdiccas had risen to fair preeminence; and as the first in his master's council, had been chosen for the custody of the royal signet, when the king's sinking eyes surveyed the sad countenances of his friends who stood silent around him³⁴.

His proposal.

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³² Ælian. Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 39.

Alexand.

³³ Plutarch, Orat. ii. de Fortun.

³⁴ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 2.

CHAPTER II.

Distractions in the outlying Provinces. Events in Egypt and in Thrace. Massacre of Greek Mercenaries. History of the two Cappadocias. Wild Projects of Leonnatus. Rebellion of the Pisidians. Perdiccas's lofty Designs. Confederacy against him. Victories of Eumenes. Perdiccas's Expedition against Egypt. His Murder.

THE convulsions which, upon the death of Alexander, agitated the palace of Babylon, speedily reached both extremities of the empire. The new governors were not established without tumult in their respective provinces. Amidst the pretensions of Perdiccas, who affected the great king, and the opposition of other generals who disdained to be his satraps, some nations imperfectly subdued, rejected the Macedonian yoke; others trusting to local advantages, hoped to shake it from their necks. In the provinces most remote from Babylon and the great controlling army, the spirit of revolt appeared even among those formerly sent thither to restrain it. Many of the Greek mercenaries who guarded the northern and eastern frontiers, had never relished their establishments in those remote regions; and longing with increased desire as years rolled on, for the climate and manners of Greece, had scarcely been detained in what they regarded as a state of melancholy exile, by the authority of their admired sovereign. On the first intelligence of his death, the inhabitants of distant settlements communicated their views to each other, assembled in different bodies, of which the most considerable amounted to twenty-three thousand ¹ men in arms, and under the conduct of Philon, a leader of their own choice, began their toilsome march towards the Grecian sea.

CHAP.
II.

Distractions in the
outlying
provinces.
Olymp.
cxiv. 2.
B. C. 322.

¹ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 7. This was the most considerable body of emigrants, but not the only one. Vid. Pausan. Attic. c. 25.

Vol. I.

2 H

CHAP.

II.

Rebellion
of the Rhodians.

Of the
Athenians
and Etolians.

About the same time the Rhodians, apprised of the dis-sensions in Babylon, flew to arms, expelled a Macedonian garrison ², and resumed an independence, seasonably acquired, manfully maintained, and most honourably as well as usefully employed.

The Greeks on the continent availed themselves with equal eagerness, but unequal success, of the growing discord among Alexander's successors. The standard of rebellion was raised by the Athenians ever hostile to Macedon, and by the intractable and turbulent Etolians declared enemies to peace either at home or abroad. In other provinces new commotions arose, and new forms of danger appeared, announcing an obstinate and bloody issue. The Thracians deemed the most warlike of men, until Alexander taught them to tremble ³, prepared to defy Lysimachus, who had been named to govern them. The Cappadocians, through whose territory the resistless conqueror had pursued his triumphant march ⁴ in the way to Cilicia, were collecting a great army to oppose Eumenes, appointed, as we have seen, to be their satrap. The Bactrians and Indians fearless of remote danger, the Paphlagonians trusting to their numerous cavalry, the Pisidians confident in the strength of their mountains, all those nations recovered from the panic with which the name of Alexander had filled them, and prepared once more to resume arms and independence ⁵.

The central provinces of the empire remained quiet, and why.

Yet in the midst of this threatening scene, the central provinces of the empire preserved unalterable tranquillity. While with the exception of the Greeks alone, remote or obscure nations raised the standard of rebellion, the flourishing commercial provinces in the Asiatic peninsula, the fertile vallies of Syria, the rich plains of Babylon, together with the vast mass of satrapies from the Tigris to the Indus, patiently endured the yoke, and tamely obeyed every master whom the caprice of the Macedonians set over them. In some of these

Diodor. l. xviii. s. 8.

³ Conf. Herodotus, l. v. c. 3. and Arrian, l. i. c. 3.

⁴ Arrian, l. ii. c. 4.

⁵ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 8. and s. 16 seq.

countries the will to revolt might be restrained through the experienced lenity of Alexander's administration, and in more of them the power was destroyed through the preceding despotism of the Persians. The blood of their ancient kings had become extinct; many hereditary priesthoods and satrapies had been abolished; there was scarcely any intermediate rank between the sovereign and the slave; and no individual in those parts who enjoyed, I say, not the means to effect a revolution, but the courage to attempt innovation. In this manner, while the extremities recovered life and action, the great body of the empire remained inert and passive, receiving with compliant softness every external impression; and without vitality in itself, was actuated merely by the various movements of the Macedonian captains.

The exertions of these captains in maintaining or enlarging their respective provinces at the expense of foreign enemies, were inconsiderable when compared with the obstinate struggle of twenty-two years among themselves. During the first three years of this period, Perdiccas contended for dominion; his opponents fought for equality, at least independence. After the destruction of Perdiccas, Antigonus succeeded to his ambition and danger; and, for the following nineteen years, it was uncertain whether that general would seat himself on his master's throne, or his opponents prevail in their great purpose of dividing the monarchy.

Of the five persons of conspicuous rank to whom the principal provinces had been assigned, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Leonnatus proceeded about the same time to take possession of their governments. The arrival of Ptolemy in Egypt was soon followed by the destruction of Cleomenes, the financial administrator of that country, with whose character our readers are sufficiently acquainted. Cleomenes might have been suspected of falling a just victim to his own unprincipled rapacity, if Ptolemy had on future occasions kept himself unstained from the guilt of blood. But this popular

CHAP.
II.

Summary
of subse-
quent revo-
lutions.
Olymp.
exiv. 2.
exix. 4.
B. C. 323—
301.

Ptolemy
takes pos-
session of
Egypt.
Olymp.
exiv. 2.

CHAP. prince, under the mild semblance of indulgent humanity, con-
II. cealed unrelenting sternness, and a mind not to be deterred

Murders
Cleomenes.

by any conscientious scruples in promoting the views of his ambition. By the same authority which conferred the first place in Egypt on himself, the second had been reserved to Cleomenes. Ptolemy rid himself by murder of a man sufficiently capable of thwarting his projects of independence⁶; seized the treasury in Alexandria, which contained eight thousand talents⁷; augmented the number of his provincial troops; courted the affection of his subjects; and fortified himself so firmly by fleets, armies, and garrisons, that his country alone remained thenceforward exempt from the storms that generally shook the empire.

Circum-
stances at-
tending the
occupation
of Thrace
by Lysi-
machus.

Lysimachus in accepting for his share the rugged and barbarous kingdom of Thrace, looked forward to the valour of that country for obtaining richer possessions in Asia. But he found it no easy matter to fashion the destined instruments of his future victories. In many laborious campaigns, he exerted himself to extend his dominion to the Danube, the boundary of Alexander's conquests. The great valley of the river Hebrus, and the plain country along the sea-coast of the Euxine, were reduced by his arms; but the mountaineers under a chieftain of the hereditary name of Seuthes⁸, kept possession of the intermediate ridges of mount Hæmus. By this means they interrupted the communications between the two cultivated regions of Thrace; and by their unexpected inroads and rapid retreats, occasioned so much trouble to Lysimachus, that he was unable for several years to take any part in the general concerns of the empire⁹; though we shall see him finally interfere in them with conspicuous energy and decisive effect.

⁶ Pausanias Attic. c. vi. Conf.
Arrian apud Photium.

⁷ Id. ibid.

⁸ See Xenophon Anabaz.

⁹ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 14. and Arrian apud Phot. p. 217.

Leonnatus had preferred the little satrapy of Hellespontian Phrygia, to a share with Perdiccas in the regency. In this whimsical choice he had been guided by motives that could have only influenced a mind of much levity. The intrigues of Olympias the mother of Alexander, whose enmity to his able and faithful servant Antipater, could no longer be repressed after the death of her son, had encouraged Leonnatus with the hope of marrying Cleopatra, Alexander's only sister by both parents, and in virtue of this marriage, joined with the splendour of his own birth and merit, of raising himself to the throne of Macedon¹⁰. The possession of Hellespontian Phrygia, from which he might rapidly transport an army into Europe, seemed essential to the success of this wild project, of which we shall see in due time the fatal issue.

CHAP.

II.

Why Leonnatus chose Hellespontian Phrygia.

Python and Eumenes who had been respectively named Python to Media and Cappadocia, were prevented by very memorable occurrences, from taking immediate possession of their provinces. Public utility required that a check should be given to the migration of the Greeks from the remote countries in which the policy of Alexander had settled them. For stopping the progress of this evil, Perdiccas draughted by lot from the army three thousand infantry, and eight hundred horse. In order to increase their alacrity, and render them more hearty in the expedition, the men destined to this distant warfare were permitted to name their commander. They unanimously chose Python: the nomination was approved by the regent; and Python was intrusted with letters under the royal signet, requiring the neighbouring governors to reinforce his standard with ten thousand infantry, and eight thousand cavalry¹¹.

Python sent to restrain the migration of the Greeks.

With this well appointed army he marched eastward under the pretence of executing his commission, but with the real design, which he was at too little pains to conceal, of converting the Greeks from enemies into friends, and thereby with His perfidious project.

¹⁰ Plutarch. in Eumene.¹¹ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 7.

CHAP.
II.

Blasted by
the atro-
cious policy
of Perdic-
cas.

Massacre
of the
Greek
emigrants.

Peculiar
circum-
stances of
the pro-
vince as-
signed to
Eumenes.

an army chiefly composed of Europeans, and above forty thousand strong, of rendering himself master not only of Media, but of the contiguous provinces of Upper Asia. Perdiccas duly apprised of this project, determined to defeat it by sending *public* orders to Python, that the safety of the empire required a great example of discipline enforced, and revolt condignly punished. For this purpose the rebellious emigrants must suffer death, and their spoils be divided among the Macedonian soldiers. The latter circumstance insured success to this bold stroke of atrocious policy. Python met, and defeated the Greeks, of whom one portion had deserted to him in time of action; and with the remainder of whom he entered into treaty on condition that they returned to their several homes in the districts allotted to them. The agreement was confirmed by oaths on both sides; and Python flattered himself with the complete success of his dexterity, when he beheld the Greeks whom he had conquered; mingled in one camp with the Macedonians whom he commanded. But the latter, regardless of their own oaths, and the authority of their general, and only mindful of the public orders issued by Perdiccas, which tempted them with a rich booty, surrounded the unsuspecting victims of their avarice, attacked them by surprise, and involved the whole of those unfortunate men in one general massacre¹². History marks not the scene of this detestable transaction. The barbarity of the deed itself, and still more the mortification of defeated dexterity and blasted prospects, sank deep into the mind of Python. He returned according to orders to the regent; but watched the opportunity of inflicting on him, as we shall see hereafter, a signal vengeance.

In dividing the provinces among them, Alexander's captains anticipated several conquests which their master had begun, and which the terror of his name would easily have completed. This was most remarkably the case with regard to the north eastern division of the Asiatic peninsula: comprehending Paphlagonia with the two Cappadocias, of

¹² Diodor. *ibid*.

which the Lesser was properly distinguished by the name of Pontus. These valuable provinces, inhabited by a mixed race of Thracians and Phrygians, were assigned to Eumenes; without considering that as their condition of dependence under the Persians had been loose and precarious, they might naturally refuse submission to those who by right of conquest assumed the place of Darius and exercised his authority¹³.

Under the Persian dynasty, the Greater and Lesser Cappadocia had been hereditary satrapies; and the former, to which Paphlagonia was annexed, and had been exempted even from tribute, in consequence of the assistance given by its satrap, Anaphas, in destroying the usurpation of the magi. Darius Hystaspis, who made this arrangement with regard to Cappadocia, committed the hereditary dominion of Pontus, to his son Artabazes by the daughter of Gobrias, at the same time that he devised the empire to Xerxes, his son by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus¹⁴. Some of the finest districts in both countries were governed immemorially by priests, commanding the labour of many slaves, and enjoying ample revenues. Over the far larger divisions of Cappadocia and Pontus, the lines of Anaphas and Artabazes continued respectively to bear sway. The fate of the house of Anaphas will be related in the following pages; and in a subsequent part of this work, we shall see the family of Artabazes, which contrived to hold a subordinate and precarious jurisdiction on the shores of the Euxine, emerge into splendour under Mithridates VI, surnamed Eupator, whose misfortunes are scarcely less illustrious than the accumulated prosperity of Darius his great ancestor¹⁵.

CHAP.
II.

History of
the two
Cappado-
cias.

¹³ Arrian apud Phot. and Plutarch in Eumen.

¹⁴ Polybius, l. v. c. 43. Conf. Appian, Mithridat. c. 115 & 116.

¹⁵ The precious effects and royal ornaments taken from Mithridates by the Romans, partly descended to him from Artabazes, who had received them from his father Darius.

Appian, Mithridat. c. 115. That barbarous king, as he is called, really sprung from Achæmenes, the founder of the Persian dynasty; since from Achæmenes, Darius, as well as Cyrus deduced his origin. Conf. Herodot. l. vii. c. 11. Ælian Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 2. and Appian, Mithridat.

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Ariarathes, the tenth in descent from Anaphas, governed Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, when Alexander marched without obstruction through the southern parts of his kingdom. Contented with obtaining a free passage for his army, the invader hastened to more important conquests, knowing that when these were effected, the Cappadocian would be inclined to afford him every other proof of submission. But the death of Alexander raised the hopes of Ariarathes, a prince not destitute of resources. Great part of his country indeed was stigmatized for the barrenness of its soil, and the stupidity of its natives¹⁶. But those rude districts contained a stout and stubborn people, long habituated to warfare, and whose capital Mazaca on the river Melas, resembled rather a camp than a city¹⁷. Of the contiguous province of Paphlagonia, the eastern division was mountainous, even to the sea shore, but the western consisted of extensive meadows¹⁸, scarcely yielding to the Nisæan pastures of Media. The country was famed for its numerous and excellent cavalry¹⁹, whose fierce courage had maintained the Paphlagonians, under the Persian dominion, in the rank of allies rather than subjects. With such recruits in men, and by seasonably employing the money amassed under his ten predecessors, Ariarathes raised a great army, by means of which he hoped to set at defiance any Macedonian captain, who should dare to invade his kingdom²⁰.

Resources
of the
Greater
Cappado-
cia.

Antigonus
and Leon-
natus re-
fuse to as-
sist Eume-
nes.

Motives of
Antigonus.

Perdiccas was not unacquainted with the boldness of the Cappadocian, or the greatness of his preparations. He therefore ordered Antigonus and Leonnatus, respectively governors of the Greater and Lesser Phrygia, to assist Eumenes in taking possession of his province. But Antigonus, who had been intrusted with Lycia and Pamphylia as well as Phrygia, by Alexander himself, affected to hold these possessions

¹⁶ Strabo, l. xii. p. 540.

¹⁷ Id. p. 537. and 539. Conf. l. xiv. p. 663.

¹⁸ Xenophon de Exped. Cyri, l. v. p. 358.

¹⁹ Amounting to 120,000, accor-

ding to Hecatonymus in Xenophon: but clearly an exaggeration. Exped. Cyri ubi supra.

²⁰ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 16. and Plut. in Eumen.

independently of the will of the Protector. Eumenes, in quality of an upstart stranger, since he was a native of Cardia, in the Thracian Chersonesus, seemed not to be entitled to Satrapies, which would have raised him to an equality with the noblest of Alexander's captains; and Antigonus too well knew his abilities, willingly to receive him for a neighbour. He therefore positively declined compliance with the royal mandate²¹. Eumenes next had recourse to Leonnatus, who commanded above twenty thousand men in Hellespontian Phrygia. But it unfortunately happened, that he met there Hecataeus, the petty prince of Cardia, his inveterate enemy. Their fathers had long disagreed about the government of their native city; and Eumenes had often solicited Alexander to abolish the hereditary power of Hecataeus, and to allow Cardia to be governed on the republican plan, like other Greek cities in its neighbourhood. But the influence of Antipater, who befriended the family of Hecataeus prevailed; and this tyrant as he is called, of Cardia, was then with Leonnatus soliciting succours for Antipater, who had been unfortunate, as will be seen hereafter, in his war with the Greeks, and was actually blocked up by their confederate army in Lamia, a strong city of Thessaly. Leonnatus exhorted Eumenes to accompany him in this expedition, so essential to the safety of the empire. But Eumenes frankly avowed his irreconcilable enmity to Hecataeus, and intimated his strong suspicions, that Antipater might find means to ruin himself, with a view to gratify this unworthy favourite. Such a strong mark of confidence on the part of Eumenes, produced one still stronger on the part of Leonnatus. The interests of Antipater, he said, were merely a pretext. His real object was to seize the Macedonian crown, to which the claims of his birth and rank were strengthened by letters from Cleopatra, Alexander's nearest legitimate relation, offering to marry him at Pella, and with the assistance of the whole party of her mother Olympias, to place him on the

CHAP.
II.Wild projects of
Leonnatus²¹ Plut. in Eumen.

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II.

throne. The wildness of this project so forcibly struck Eumenes, that he seized the first opportunity of escaping secretly from the satrapy of Leonnatus, and hastened to Perdiccas with his troops and treasures; five hundred men, and five thousand talents²².

Conquest
of Cappa-
docia by
Perdiccas
and Eume-
nea.

Perdiccas, while he vowed vengeance against Antigonus, and left Leonnatus to reap the bitter fruits of his own folly, moved with the royal army towards Cappadocia, to establish Eumenes in his satrapy. Ariarathes was said to have collected thirty thousand infantry, and above fifteen thousand horse. But this army, had it been far more numerous, would have proved altogether unable to contend with the veteran troops of Macedon, headed by Perdiccas and Eumenes, two of their best generals. A single battle terminated the war. Four thousand Cappadocians were slain, and five thousand made prisoners.

Cruel
treatment
of its here-
ditary sa-
trap and
his family.

According to the barbarous maxims which prevailed in that age, from which the conspicuous humanity of Alexander had been unable to wean his followers, Ariarathes, and his captive kindred, suffered for defending their country, the death usually inflicted on the worst malefactors. One youth only, named also Ariarathes, escaped crucifixion²³; and availed himself of the civil wars of the empire, to regain his hereditary throne, after a long interval of obscurity²⁴.

Rebellion
of the Pi-
sidians.

Not less ambitious of power than his late master, Perdiccas employed the most opposite means to acquire it. The master awed the world by magnanimity; the degenerate lieutenant was solicitous only to inspire terror. From the banks of the Halys, and the plains of Cappadocia, he marched in a south-western direction to the mountains of Pisidia, two districts of which were in arms. Pisidia, which may be considered as the inland and rougher division of Pamphylia, was inhabited by hardy mountaineers, affectionate to their friends, and fiercely implacable to their enemies²⁵.

²² Plutarch ubi supra.

ad Diodor. loc. citat.

²³ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 16.

²⁵ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 46.

²⁴ Vid. Wesseling Annotat.

Provoked by some act of oppression, they had slain their satrap Balacrus. Antigonos, to whom Pamphylia had been assigned, had not thought proper to punish this crime. In the neighbourhood of the royal army, far superior to his own, he was contented to remain quiet in the Greater Phrygia, having intrusted the affairs of Pamphylia and Lysia to his friend Nearchus²⁶, whose nautical abilities seemed well qualified for the superintendence of those maritime provinces. But Perdiccas, after establishing Eumenes, on whose gratitude he perfectly relied, in Cappadocia, was unwilling to leave an unextinguished rebellion in that neighbourhood. At the news of his approach, the Pisidian insurgents shut themselves up in the fortified cities of Laranda and Isaura, respectively the capitals of the two revolted districts. Laranda was taken by assault; its inhabitants were massacred or enslaved²⁷.

But the severe punishment of Laranda, instead of alarming the fears of the Isaurians, only animated their fury. Being well provided with darts as well as armour of defence, they maintained during two days the unbroken strength of their walls. On the third day, their numbers were greatly diminished, their walls in many parts defenceless, and a cruel death, embittered by intolerable indignities, was all that awaited them from the inexorable Perdiccas. Under these circumstances they embraced, in the proud language of antiquity, the heroic resolution of burning their houses, wives, children, parents, with their most precious effects; and again mounting their shattered battlements, repelled the assailants with the most desperate valour. Perdiccas, equally astonished with the resistance which he encountered, and the dreadful conflagration which he beheld, withdrew his men from a place that seemed to be defended by furies. Having no longer an enemy to whom they might dearly sell their lives, the remnant of the Isaurians hurried down from their walls, and impetuously plunged themselves into the midst of the

Memorable destruction of Isaura.

²⁶ Justin, l. xiii. c. 4.

²⁷ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 22.

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II.

flames²⁸. The Macedonians ventured at length to approach and examine the smoking ruins of Isadra: in which they found very considerable quantities of gold and silver; so universally had those metals been diffused, and that, as we are assured, from far earlier times, over the most barbarous parts of the peninsula²⁹. It is worthy of remark, that this signal disaster did not extinguish for ever the courage and renown of the Isaurians. At the distance of seven centuries, their descendents were more formidable to the Roman emperors³⁰, than they ever themselves proved to Alexander's successors. Their countryman, Zeno, at length mounted the throne of Constantinople. But that event, the most splendid in their annals, occasioned their complete subjugation, and permanent obscurity in future. Drained of its inhabitants, who repaired in crowds to enjoy the smiles and rewards of a distant court, Isauria was subdued and ruined in a war of six years, by Anastasius the successor of Zeno, assisted by the desolating arms of the Goths³¹.

Perdiccas
marries
Nicæa, An-
tipater's
daughter.
His motives
thereto.

Perdiccas might have established his greatness by war only, if the resistless army which he commanded, had been firmly attached to his interest. But the affection of the veteran troops was riveted through admiration of Alexander, to the royal line; and by a man who wished to supplant it, no expedient of policy was to be neglected. Ptolemy, who appears early to have perceived that the regent, after confirming his power in the Asiatic peninsula, hoped to render himself proprietary of an empire of which he had been chosen protector, secretly negotiated with Antipater for their mutual safety. This transaction escaped not the vigilance of Perdiccas. By means of his brother Alcetas, a man formed to play with dexterity a second part, he defeated Ptolemy's design, and entered himself into a treaty with Antipater, whose assistance, particularly in the supply of new levies for the army, was of the utmost moment to either party. According to this treaty,

²⁸ Diodorus, ubi supra.

²⁹ Id. ibid.

³⁰ Histor. August. p. 197.

³¹ Malala, vol ii. p. 106.

Perdiccas married Nicæa, Antipater's daughter, who was³² conducted to his camp by her brothers Archias and Jollas. CHAP. II.

This marriage by no means pleased Eumenes, whom of all men Perdiccas most esteemed. It was equally offensive to Olympias, the implacable enemy of Antipater and his family. Eumenes persuaded his friend, that an alliance with the house of Alexander was requisite to the success of his designs. At the same time, Cleopatra, full sister to the late king, returned to Sardes, for though ambition was not the ruling passion of that princess, she was guided by her mother Olympias, in whom the lust of power reigned with unbounded sway. The pride of Perdiccas swelled with his fortune; the daughter of Antipater seemed an unequal match; he prepared to repudiate Nicæa that he might marry Cleopatra³³. But of this design, before it was carried into execution, a secret intimation was given by Menander³⁴, governor of Lydia, in the capital of which Cleopatra resided, to Antigonus, who commanded in Phrygia, and probably through his means to the royal army.

The Macedonians, though they could not respect, fondly loved king Arrhidæus, whom they affectionately called Philip in remembrance of his father. Instead of more strongly fortifying Perdiccas in his assumed power, they wished rather to exalt into authority their legitimate sovereign, by marrying him to Euridice, who, as lineal descendant of Philip's eldest brother, would herself have enjoyed the fairest pretensions to the throne, had not custom, which often holds the place of law, excluded females from the command of a martial people. But the characters of Euridice, and her mother Cynna, seemed to arraign the justice of this decision. In complete armour, Cynna had often fought in the first ranks; and her warlike fame had been rivalled by her scarcely marriageable daughter. Her merit surpassing

³² Arrian apud Phot. p. 220. and Plutarch in Eumen. s. 23.

³³ Id. ibid. and Diodo. l. xviii.

³⁴ Arrian apud Phot. p. 220.

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II.

even her illustrious birth, entitled Euridice to share the throne of Arrhidæus. Cynna supported her claim with the warmth natural to her temper. The jealous ambition of Perdiccas was alarmed; if Cynna prevailed, he feared to lose his credit with the army; and therefore wickedly destroyed by worse than female perfidy, a woman that opposed him with more than manly boldness³⁵. But the secret murder of Cynna, however artfully disguised, was not condemned by low murmurs of discontent, which liberality and flattery might appease. The spirit of insurrection was general and loud: Perdiccas feared for his life; and escaped immediate danger, by himself proposing the nuptials of Arrhidæus and Euridice, which were accordingly celebrated³⁶.

The unfortunate issue of this business did not divert the regent from his projects of ambition. Nicæa was repudiated, and his marriage with Cleopatra was only deferred to a more favourable juncture. But the desired event never took place, such was the tumult of affairs in which he was thenceforward involved to the moment of his death. To reestablish his authority with the army, was his immediate and most interesting concern. In effecting this purpose he was assisted by able instruments; men accustomed to deal with, and manage the angry spirits of armed multitudes; of popular virtues, winning address, and intrepid firmness. His brother, Alcetas, commanded a division, over which his dexterity was fitted to gain unbounded influence. Attalus, his brother in law, being the husband of Atalanta, Perdiccas's sister, had been intrusted with the fleet collected by Alexander on the Syrian coast. Aristonous, a *lifeguard* and *companion* still attended the person of the regent, to whose interest, as we have seen above, he was entirely devoted. Seleucus, in early youth, but already conspicuous for policy not less than prowess, had an important command in the cavalry. Even Python with enmity in his heart, was obliged,

Euridice married to Arrhidæus.

Character of Perdiccas's lieutenants and coadjutors.

Alcetas.

Attalus.

Aristonous.

Seleucus.

Python.

³⁵ Polyæn. Stratagem. l. viii. c. 60. and Arrian ubi supra. ³⁶ Id. Ibid.

for a reason that will afterwards be explained, to cooperate CHAP. II
strenuously in promoting the views of the protector. Above

all, Eumenes, whose gratitude knew no bounds to a man Eumenes.
by whom he, a stranger, had been raised to an equality with
the noblest Macedonian captains, was the counsellor of Per-
diccas in every difficulty, his shield and safeguard in every
danger³⁷.

By the cooperation of these auxiliaries, Perdicas having His ene-
mies, Me-
nander,
Philotas,
Asander.
recovered his credit in the camp, ventured to summon to his
presence Antigonus, governor of Phrygia, the only man in
the Asiatic peninsula whose character and resources still
rendered him formidable. The governors of three other pro-
vinces, Menander of Lydia, Philotas of Cilicia, and Asander
of Caria, were indeed very unfavourably disposed towards
Perdiccas; but they had carefully concealed their animosity,
which subsequent transactions brought to light; and they
had at their disposal only small bodies of men, incapable of
exciting jealousy in the master of a powerful army. But Antigonus
summoned
to answer
for disobe-
dience.
Antigonus, besides the crime of commanding a considerable
force in the heart of the peninsula, had openly disobeyed the
royal mandate. He was cited to justify himself before the
army, for refusing to assist Eumenes in the Cappadocian war.
To this solid ground of accusation, many articles were added
more or less important, and some extremely frivolous, but
all indicating such an implacable spirit of vengeance, as left
no hopes of safety to Antigonus, but in a precipitate flight
beyond the reach of his enemies.

With the decision, conspicuous in many subsequent passa- He flies to
Antipater,
and ex-
plains to
him the
views of
Perdiccas.
ges of his life, that general, instead of answering the accusa-
tions against him, escaped with his son Demetrius, and his
most confidential friends to the Ionian coast; embarked in an
Athenian vessel at Ephesus; and hastened to Antipater in

³⁷ The above account of Perdic-
cas's coadjutors is collected from
Diodorus and Arrian. Plutarch in
his life of Eumenes is extremely de-

fective, omitting many particulars,
in which his hero acted an impor-
tant part.

CHAP. II. order to explain to him their common wrongs, and the dangerous views of Perdiccas, who thought of nothing less than usurping the monarchy³⁸. The repudiation of Nicæa, the murder of Cynna, the projected marriage with Cleopatra, the tyrannical proceedings towards himself and other governors in Lesser Asia, all these unwarrantable transactions, as well as the atrocious treatment of the Pisidians and Cappadocians, were placed in the strongest light³⁹ before Antipater and Craterus, who, as joint tutors to the kings and protectors of the empire in Europe, had just put a successful termination to the ill-advised rebellion in Greece.

Arrangements of Antipater with his confederates against Perdiccas.

The importunity of Antigonus was seconded by pressing embassies from Ptolemy, who had been the first to discern Perdiccas's aim at exclusive dominion. By a favourable construction of the act of authority appointing them administrators for the kings in Europe, Antipater and Craterus regarded themselves as bound to maintain the interests of the royal line in every part of the empire. Their admiral Clytus having recently defeated the Athenian fleet, gave them the command of the sea, and the facility of transporting their veterans into Asia. Their army would be inferior indeed to that of Perdiccas, but they trusted for augmenting it to the disaffection of the provincial governors, and even to the desertion of his own soldiers, among whom the name of Antipater, so long viceroy in Macedon, and that of Craterus so dear to the phalanx, would be sufficient to shake, as they imagined, the upstart authority of the protector. Before crossing the Hellespont, Antipater and Craterus cemented⁴⁰ their friendship by the marriage of the latter, with a daughter of the former named Phila, a woman of high accomplishments and lofty destiny, since, after the death of her first husband, she became by her marriage with Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, the root of a long series of Macedonian and Syrian

³⁸ Arrian apud Phot. and Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 23.

³⁹ ΕΥΓΡΑΥΔΙΜΟΙ. Arrian, p. 220

⁴⁰ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 18.

kings. In the treaty among the enemies of Perdiccas, the interest of Antigonos was not forgotten. His provinces were to be restored to him and augmented: Ptolemy was to enjoy Egypt, and whatever he might conquer in Africa: Craterus was to receive the protectorship in Asia; and Antipater to resume, after his return from this eastern warfare, the administration of Greece and Macedon. During his absence, the affairs of these countries were committed to Polysperchon, the oldest captain who had passed with Alexander into Asia. This appointment was the most injudicious of all Antipater's measures. Polysperchon was an Etolian by birth, and a distinguished leader of the phalanx⁴¹. He had returned to Europe as second in command with Craterus. Age and experience had given him cunning without any real wisdom; and his deficiency in every moral virtue, which his hypocrisy long concealed, did not belie the odious character of his country.

Perdiccas was duly apprised of the confederacy formed for his own destruction. He carried on a secret correspondence with the discontented Greeks, particularly the Etolians, who, though often vanquished by Macedon, were never completely subdued by that kingdom. The satrapies forfeited and abandoned by Antigonos, he joined to the valuable provinces already committed to Eumenes. Having called a council of his generals, he deliberated whether it would be most expedient to oppose with undivided force Antipater and Craterus: or, after leaving a portion of his army sufficient to repel his enemies on the side of Europe, to hasten his own march into Egypt, and wrest that country from Ptolemy. The expedition against Egypt was preferred⁴². The Satrap of that country was considered by Perdiccas as the principal author of the confederacy against himself: and the prosperity of Ptolemy, who had recently conquered Cyrene by his fleet, wounded his pride, and embittered animosity by envy.

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II.

Deliberations and measures of Perdiccas.

He determines to invade Egypt.

⁴¹ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 57.

⁴² Ibid. s. 29.

CHAP.

II.

Antipater
lands un-
molested in
Asia.

While the regent proceeded from Pisidia towards Syria in his way to Egypt, Antipater and Craterus made proper dispositions for crossing early in the spring from the Thracian Chersonesus into Hellespontian Phrygia. The assistance of Attalus and the Asiatic fleet being deemed necessary for insuring success in the invasion of Egypt, the European troops crossed the Hellespont without any memorable opposition⁴³; and what is more extraordinary, effected their landing, and obtained a firm footing in the province, altogether unresisted. This was partly occasioned by the dissatisfaction of the other officers with the preference given to Eumenes, whom Perdiccas had appointed, during his own absence, supreme commander in Lesser Asia; and partly by the disinclination of the troops to join battle with their countrymen, headed by such favourite commanders as Antipater and Craterus. The pride of Alcetas could not well brook that by the authority of his own brother, he should be superseded in command by a man of inferior birth and a stranger. Neoptolemus, who commanded a still more considerable body of Macedonians, was so much provoked by a similar indignity, that he entered into a secret correspondence with Antipater, and was preparing to cut off Eumenes by treachery, when that general, by summoning him to his own presence, brought their quarrel to an open rupture. Neoptolemus was driven to the necessity of braving his commander in the field; and being totally defeated, with the loss or surrender of his infantry, escaped with no small difficulty to Antipater's camp, with a body of three hundred horse⁴⁴.

Treachery
and flight
of Neopto-
lemus to
Antipater.

His bad ad-
vice makes
Antipater
and Crate-
rus divide
their for-
ces

By the assistance of this scanty reinforcement the traitor little benefited his new friends; but he fatally injured them by the presumptuous folly of his advice. He was a man whose natural insolence was heightened by family pride. Being allied to the royal blood of Macedon, he had occasionally

⁴³ Arrian apud Phot. p. 220.

⁴⁴ Plutarch in Eumen.

served Alexander as chief *hypaspist*: in which quality he boasted of having borne his master's shield and spear, while Eumenes, in the capacity of secretary, carried his portfolio and inkhorn⁴⁵. Whether his rash confidence made him believe what he asserted, or whether by separating Craterus and Antipater, he wished only to make room for his own advancement to a share in the command, it is certain that he persuaded these generals of the inexpediency of advancing with combined forces against Eumenes. The Asiatic troops of that obstinate adherent to an unworthy master, (for the most magnificent offers had been made in vain to detach Eumenes from his allegiance), he represented to them as a promiscuous rabble hastily collected, alike destitute of courage and incapable of discipline; and his Europeans, he assured them, would no sooner behold the Macedonian cap of Craterus than they would repair with one consent to his standard. Conformably to his advice, Antipater raised his camp, and proceeded towards the Cilician passes, that he might arrive in time to defend Ptolemy against Perdiccas: while Craterus, accompanied by Neoptolemus, marched against his faithful lieutenant; and in full confidence of victory, prematurely divided among their soldiers, the spoils of that wealthy adversary⁴⁶.

By rigidly adhering to the rude simplicity of Macedon, while most of his equals plunged headlong into the luxuries of Asia, and still more by asserting the unwarrantable pretensions of his countrymen in opposition to that just equality which the wisdom of Alexander had endeavoured to introduce among all descriptions of his subjects, Craterus had acquired with the Macedonians, extraordinary respect for his character, and unbounded affection for his person⁴⁷. But Eumenes, during the short time that he had held the government of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, had fashioned an instrument of war, which was no longer to allow the decision of battles

⁴⁵ Plutarch in Eumēn, p. 583.⁴⁷ Arrian, Curtius, and Plutarch.⁴⁶ Id. *ibid*.

CHAP. to depend on Europeans solely. By granting immunities and

II.

honours to such provincials as were willing to serve on horse-back, and by mixing in their ranks a due proportion of *equestrian companions*⁴⁸, he had raised a body of cavalry, which, though unable to cope in pitched battle with the phalanx, was calculated to keep in respect that formidable infantry. The great object of Eumenes was to bring his Macedonians into action, without allowing them time to learn that Craterus was their adversary. For this purpose, when informed of the march of that general against him, he industriously gave out that the treacherous Neoptolemus at the head of some contemptible and ill-accoutred Barbarians had again taken arms; at the same time issuing the most positive orders, that on no consideration whatever, any messenger or herald should be received from an infamous rebel, whose baseness had first betrayed his commander, and whose mad audacity now challenged him a second time to the field. His superiority in cavalry, which exceeded six thousand, while the enemy's scarcely amounted to one-third of that number, facilitated his means of intelligence, and at the same time intercepted all dangerous communication with the hostile camp.

Battle near the plain of Troy, in which Craterus and Neoptolemus are slain. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 322.

The infantry on either side did not fall short of twenty thousand. The troops of Eumenes were a mixture of Europeans and Asiatics. Those of Craterus consisted almost entirely of the former. This difference, however, was not accompanied with any analogous effect, since, through the dexterity of Eumenes, the engagement was decided without the shock of adverse battalions. On the day of battle he posted his Asiatic horse in opposition to the enemy's right wing commanded by Craterus. The left, headed by Neoptolemus, he determined to combat in person, with his select band of cavalry, only three hundred in number; hoping, whatever

⁴⁸ Horse disciplined and appointed like those who bore under Alexander that technical name. The Macedonian captains, as we shall see on many occasions hereafter,

conformed to the names which their master had imposed, as well as to the institutions which he had established.

might be the fortune of the day, to chastise the insolence and treachery of his personal foe. As soon as the enemy came in sight, descending from a hill in Hellespontian Phrygia, the barbarian cavalry rushed forward to a desperate conflict, in which they had been ordered by Eumenes neither to hear parley nor to give quarter. Craterus, astonished at the regularity and fierceness of their assault, and upbraiding, as is said, the fatal confidence of Neoptolemus, exerted a persevering valour becoming a favourite of Alexander; but being finally dismounted, either through the fall of his horse, or the arm of an ignoble Paphlagonian⁴⁹, he was trampled under foot and buried ingloriously in the throng. His cavalry was pursued with great slaughter; and a few only were saved under the protection of the phalanx. Meanwhile an extraordinary spectacle had been exhibited on the opposite wing. Eumenes and Neoptolemus had no sooner beheld each other, than their old animosity, inflamed by recent injuries, left them no longer masters of themselves. They darted forward with such impetuosity, throwing the reins from their left hands, that in the shock, or subsequent struggle, their horses escaped from under them. Neoptolemus was first on foot, but this seeming advantage only exposed him to a thrust by which he was hamstrung and disabled. The combat fiercely continued, Neoptolemus supporting himself on his knee, until Eumenes inflicted a mortal wound on his antagonist, who expired in the exertion of retorting it. This battle should seem to have been fought at no great distance from the Trojan plain⁵⁰, and the combatants rivalled the ferocity of Homer's heroes. From an enthusiastic admiration of their great poet, and still more from the style of war which the nature of their arms compelled them to practise, the Greeks, amidst the highest intel-

⁴⁹ Arrian apud Phot. p. 221. Plutarch in Eumen. says a Thracian; for the Paphlagonians, as we have seen, were a mixture of Syrians and Thracians.

⁵⁰ Dum hæc apud Hellespontum

geruntur, &c. Nepos in Eumen. which is not invalidated by Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 37. Παράταξις γινόμενης πρὸς Καππαδοκίαν: for Cappadocia was the proper province of Eumenes, and the great object of contest.

CHAP. II. lectual attainments and unrivalled productions of taste and genius, always disgraced their valour by sanguinary rage, and worse than brutal savageness.

Eumenes' behaviour towards Craterus.

In this engagement two of Alexander's generals were defeated and slain. Their conqueror was severely wounded. Yet, wounded as he was, Eumenes again mounted on horseback, and as the opposing wing of the enemy was totally routed, hastened to that part of the field, where Craterus lay struggling with death. He arrived in time to close the eyes of an ancient and respected friend; and to testify to him the utmost regret that he had ever been under the fatal necessity of treating him as an enemy⁵¹.

Flight of the phalanx and Eumenes' march to Celænæ in Phrygia.

Notwithstanding the complete victory of his horse, Eumenes ventured not to attack the hostile phalanx. But his cavalry surrounded it on all sides. This body of infantry, deprived of their generals, and straitened by their enemies, were summoned to surrender. They feigned compliance; but also craved leave to disperse themselves over the neighbouring hills, that they might supply their urgent wants. This permission being granted, instead of using it honourably, they immediately chose new generals, and hastened in the night across the mountains to join Antipater⁵². Eumenes' infantry was not able to contend with them; the ground was unfavourable to cavalry; his wounds growing more uneasy disqualified him for the pursuit. But the success which he had already obtained gave him the command of the districts on this side mount Taurus. He therefore proceeded eastward to the Greater Phrygia, and fixed his head quarters in the warm and delightful district of Celænæ, hoping to gladden Perdiccas with the news of his victories⁵³.

Perdiccas' fatal expedition against Egypt. Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 432.

But two days before this news reached Egypt, Perdiccas himself was no more. That general had passed the Cilician straits into Syria. Before invading Egypt he had summoned

⁵¹ Arrian, p. 221. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 30. and Plutarch in Eumen.

⁵² Diodor. l. xviii. s. 32.

⁵³ Id. *ibid*.

Ptolemy, as he had formerly done Antigonus, to answer various articles of accusation before the royal army. Ptolemy made his appearance, and is said to have justified his whole proceedings to the complete satisfaction of the Macedonians⁵⁴. But the favourite of unsteady multitudes often no longer retains their affection than he remains in their sight. After Ptolemy's return to his province, the impeachment was again urged, and accumulated with the circumstance of his having arrested the funeral convoy of Alexander, and interred his remains at Alexandria, against the sacred will of the conqueror himself, who had chosen the temple of Hammon for his tomb. Since his separation from the faithful Eumenes, the regent was surrounded by lieutenants less disposed to give him salutary advice, than to hurry him treacherously to his ruin. His brother in law, Attalus, and his old companion Aristonous were almost the only sincere friends whom his tyranny had left him. Python, Seleucus, and Antigenes a celebrated leader of the hypaspists, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter, were all disgusted with his government, and unfriendly to his person.

Ptolemy, without reposing a weak confidence in his popularity with the royal army, had hastened to place his satrapy in a posture of defiance. He well knew the peculiar advantages of Egypt for defensive war; impenetrable as that country was on the side of Africa, secured on its dangerous sea coast by a strong fleet, and to an Asiatic enemy opposing the triple barrier of a desert, a marsh, and an impassable river.

Meanwhile, Perdiccas led his reluctant army from Syria, towards the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile, which forms the eastern boundary of the fertile Delta. The movement of his troops along the coast, was accompanied by his fleet under Attalus. On approaching Pelusium, a city surrounded by lakes and marshes⁵⁵, he found not only that principal key to Egypt, but every other place on the same frontier so well

CHAP.
II.

Egypt placed in a posture of defence

Perdiccas' operations against Pelusium defeated.

⁵⁴ Arrian p. 221.

⁵⁵ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 760.

CHAP. prepared for his reception, that he could not expect to make
 II. any sudden impression on that quarter. To facilitate, as it should seem, his operations against Pelusium, he began by clearing an ancient channel, that the incommodious depth of water might be discharged into the sea, only two miles distant; but his labours for this purpose, the strenuous work of many days, were overwhelmed, and in a moment destroyed by an artificial inundation of the Nile. Disappointment increased discontent; and the soldiers seized every opportunity of desertion, rather than continue to encounter difficulties in a hard service under a cruel master. Perdiccas used all the resources with which his authority, his treasures, and his boldness still supplied him, to restrain disaffection, and to excite the keen military passions for victory and plunder ⁵⁶.

Unsuccessful
 assault
 of the Camels' wall.

To elude the vigilance of the enemy, he raised his camp in the night, and marched with celerity to a broad and shallow part of the Nile, opposite to a fortress called the Camels' wall. His secrecy and expedition did not avail him, for before he had conducted his army half way across the river, Ptolemy's troops appeared with their general on the opposite bank, hastening to reinforce his garrison, and afterwards expressing their exultation by songs of triumph, for having thus seasonably anticipated the enemy. Perdiccas, however, proceeded to the attack; he commanded the matchless veterans of Alexander, which had never yet suffered a discomfiture in their long and various warfare. The ramparts were assailed with the trunks and butting strength of his elephants ⁵⁷. His active hypaspists carefully covered by their shields, laboured strenuously to mount the scaling ladders which were already planted on the walls. But their exertions were repelled by equal vigour, and from more advantageous

⁵⁶ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 33.

⁵⁷ They are still used in the East Indies for destroying ramparts in the former way. They will pull trees from the ground with their trunks.

They fight with fierce emulation against each other, and make prize of ears, tails, &c. torn from their antagonists.

ground. Ptolemy himself gave extraordinary proofs of skill and courage, aiming dexterously with his spear, and thereby blinding the elephants as they advanced to the assault. The battle continued through the greater part of the day, during which time no practicable breach was made in the walls, and many crowded scaling ladders were tumbled headlong into the stream⁵⁰. Perdiccas, obstinate as he was, yielded to the necessity of sounding a retreat, not doubting that his veterans would wash out the infamy of this repulse, in the blood of their upstart rivals.

CHAP.
II.

With the allowance of only a short interval for rest and refreshment, he made another nocturnal march to that part of the bank which is opposite to Memphis; and where two branches of the river, (before they finally separated to inclose the broad Delta,) formed a much smaller island, yet sufficient to lodge with safety the greatest army. His dispositions for crossing this branch of the Nile, which reached to the necks of the men, were judicious. On the left of his infantry, he endeavoured to break the force of the current by a line of elephants; his cavalry passed on the right, that they might pick up and save those of the foot, who were overcome by the power of the stream. But an extraordinary change in the river itself is said to have baffled these precautions. Whether, that its oozy bed was unable to sustain the incumbent weight; or that some distant sluice suddenly poured into it a new supply of water, or more probably, that the agitated sand, scooped from the bottom of the channel, gradually increased its depth, it is certain, that after the first divisions had crossed over with little difficulty, the passage became altogether impracticable to those who followed them: Perdiccas was greatly disconcerted by this unexpected obstacle. In despair of protecting the troops who had already passed, he was obliged to recal to his standard, those still struggling with the stream. His soldiers on the opposite bank, perceiving that they were abandoned by their

Dreadful
disaster at
an island
of the Nile,
near Mem-
phis.

⁵⁰ Diodorus, *ibid.* s. 34.

CHAP. friends, into the hands of far superior enemies, impetuously
 II. rushed into the Nile. Those expert at swimming, reached the desired shore with the loss of their armour. Those less skilful, to the number of two thousand, were either carried back to the enemy, or swallowed up by the waters, or being long borne on their surface, were devoured by crocodiles⁵⁹.

Ptolemy's
 prudent
 humanity. Instead of testifying unmanly joy at this disaster, Ptolemy showed a laudable sympathy, even with the distress of invaders. The captives who had fallen into his hands, were treated like brethren. Many bodies of the dead were recovered; burned according to custom, with due lamentations; and their ashes in solemn pomp restored to their friends. This show of humanity contained much real prudence. The Macedonians were forcibly struck with the contrast between him, whom they had come to combat, and their cruel unfeeling master. A conspiracy was formed against Perdiccas, headed by his secret but inveterate enemy Python⁶⁰. The protector's tent was surprised in the night; and he, who had for three years been a terror to his opponents in every part of the empire, fell an easy victim to the just vengeance of his followers.

Assassina-
 tion of Per-
 diccas.

His cha-
 racter.

Thus died Perdiccas, who had presumptuously aspired to fill the place of Alexander. In the boldness of his hopes, and the intrepidity of his valour, he was not an unworthy coadjutor to that extraordinary man; but, he was entirely destitute of Alexander's nobler virtues; his indulgent humanity, his glowing affections, his passion for arts and letters, that commanding energy which overawes opposition, and that winning condescension which disarms envy. Perdiccas was better fitted to act the second part boldly, than to sustain the first wisely. Had his designs been less audacious, or his ambition more discerning, he might certainly have appropriated a valuable portion of the empire, and laid the foundation of a powerful monarchy. But by grasping at objects too lofty,

⁵⁹ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 35.

⁶⁰ Arrian, Diodorus, Strabo, and Pausanias.

he missed those within his reach. His pride and cruelty brought on him deserved ruin; and as his towering enterprise had nothing of justness or solidity, he is entitled only to a place among those vulgar favourites of fortune, who have gained a spurious renown by disturbing the quiet of mankind, and destroying the plans of persons, better and wiser than themselves, for promoting public prosperity.

HISTORY OF THE WORLD,

CHAPTER III.

State of Greece. Proclamation for recalling exiles. Opposition of the Athenians and Etolians. Lamian war. Antipater negotiates with the States separately. The Etolians alone refractory. History of the Greeks in Africa. Motives and Object of their first Settlements there. Commercial Geography of Africa. Description and History of the Pentapolis. Its Productions and Arts. Thimbron's Invasion. Cyrene reduced under Ptolemy Soter.

CHAP. III.

Consequences of
Perdiccas' murder.
Olymp.
cxiv. 4.
B. C. 321.

THE death of Perdiccas was followed by dissensions in his great controlling army, by the destruction of the vast fleets collected or created by Alexander, and by a new partition of the provinces bequeathed by that conqueror. Before we proceed to examine these memorable events, we shall previously relate some transactions comparatively unimportant to the empire at large, which happened during Perdiccas' short regency of three years. The first of these transactions, is the rebellion in Greece, and the consequent adjustment of the affairs of that country by Antipater: the second is the conquest of Cyrene by Ptolemy. The former general upheld the dominions intrusted to him by judicious policy; the latter enlarged his province by prudent enterprise.

State of ancient
Greece during
Alexander's reign.

During eleven years that Alexander spent in Asia, Greece enjoyed an unusual degree of tranquillity. The authority of the conqueror restrained her domestic wars, and appeased her political animosities. She was exempted from tribute, delivered from the tyranny of garrisons, and like many other portions of the empire, indulged with the enjoyment of her ancient laws and hereditary government¹. The Greeks were associated to the glory of Alexander: he affected to be called

¹ Demosthen. Orat. *περί τῆς εὐρύμαν*, p. 84. edit. Wolf.

the general of their confederacy; on *his* part, he protected each city in its rights and possessions: the duty required on theirs, consisted in acknowledging his paramount power; and in lieu of the contingents of troops which they were severally bound to furnish, to allow the unrestrained freedom of recruiting in their several republics. Under such auspicious circumstances, the Greeks cultivated with ardour their favourite arts. Their productive and commercial industry flourished in the utmost vigour, and might we judge by the condition of Athens², their country was more populous at the era of Alexander's death, than at any preceding or subsequent period.

Such a tide of prosperity recalled to mind their ancient glory, and revived their ill-stifled ambition. To repress more dangerous passions which the remembrance of past times might still kindle, and to secure in each community zealous partisans of the Macedonian interest, the conqueror, shortly before his death, had ordered a proclamation to be made at the Olympic Games, "that the Greek exiles," always a numerous body of men, "should be received into the bosoms of their respective cities, reinstated in their several inheritances, and again admitted to those offices and honours of which the injustice³ or envy of their rivals, had unwarrantably deprived them." Above twenty thousand exiles, from particular cities, assisted as spectators or actors at this general and solemn convention. Their joy may be more easily conceived than described, when they heard the Sacred Herald, after he had declared the Olympic victors, announce the will of Alexander, that they, long unhappy fugitives, should be again blessed with a country, a home, and a due share of municipal honours. The whole assembly was filled

CHAP.
III.

His proclamation for reinstating exiles. Olymp. exiv. 1.— B. C. 324.

Its general reception among the Greeks.

² Diodorus Siculus, l. xviii. s. 18. Conf. Thucyd. l. ii. Plutarch. in Pericle, and Athenæus, l. vi. as I have explained his text in my Introduction to the Orations of Ly-

sias, p. 5.

³ Criminals, particularly those guilty of murder or sacrilege, were excepted. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 8.

CHAP. with sympathetic acclamation, extolling Alexander's discern-
III. ing bounty, who increased his own fame by acts of public
benefit and substantial justice ⁴.

Why the
Athenians
and Etoli-
ans oppos-
ed its exe-
cution.

But amidst the general satisfaction diffused by this decree, the citizens of two republics received it with much uneasiness. The rapacious Etolians had recently expelled their neighbours the peaceful Oeniadae, and appropriated their well cultivated fields on the banks of the Achelous; and the Athenians, thirty years before the reign of Alexander, had driven the Samians from their island, and divided it by lot among Athenian citizens. Both communities trembled for the safety of possessions which they had cruelly usurped. But respect for Alexander's authority made them suppress any strong marks of displeasure. Their feelings were only indicated by a sullen silence in the midst of tumultuous joy. They determined, however, to thwart the obnoxious measure; and, if possible, to prevent its execution ⁵.

Their
hopes and
views.

Upon the death of the Macedonian hero, an opportunity seemed to occur, not only of defeating his proclamation, but of setting at defiance the authority of those who succeeded to his power. At Athens the partisans of the ancient democracy, among whom Hyperides, in the absence of Demosthenes, shone in the first rank, abhorred the Macedonians through habit, and arraigned their gentle government under the odious name of despotism ⁶. Men less influenced by party spirit, considered that the liberal maxims of Alexander's administration were not likely to be pursued by the timid jealousy of his successors; and that, amidst the ambitious struggles of the Macedonian captains with each other; Greece, if true to herself, might recover, with national independence, her hereditary renown. But the wisest portion of the Athenians, among whom Phocion held the first place, perceived that the

⁴ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 8.

⁵ Diodor. ubi supra

⁶ Τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων διαπορίας, Diodor. l. xviii. s. 9.

internal condition of Greece, and still more her situation with regard to foreign states, by no means entitled her to entertain the same lofty hopes which she had formerly realized⁷. In the best of times the confederacy of her republics had remained imperfect; laboriously consolidated, and easily dissolved. At the present juncture, a greater perseverance of union and patriotism was not to be expected than in the Persian war. But the veteran troops of Macedon, headed by experienced generals, were enemies more formidable than the unwieldy millions of Xerxes.

The Athenians having convened to deliberate on the subject of Alexander's decree, the moderation of virtue, the caution of wisdom, and the timidity of wealth, were all overwhelmed by the resistless torrent of popular passions. The needy and profligate multitude, of whom Philip used to say that they loved war because they had nothing to hope for in peace, emboldened by the inflammatory harangues of their favourite demagogues, determined to launch their fleet, to hire mercenaries, to summon the aid of their allies; and promised what they had often before fallen short in performing, personally and in one body to take the field. Their resolution was fortified by a previous measure, which should seem to have been concerted among the popular leaders, upon a rumour of Alexander's death. Several bodies of Greek soldiers, discontented with their service in Asia, through mere restlessness of disposition, or a longing for their native country, had found their way home chiefly in Athenian vessels, and rendezvoused to the number of eight thousand near Cape Tenarus in Laconia. The secret council of Athenian patriots wished to gain to their views this large reinforcement of well disciplined troops. They commissioned, therefore, Leosthenes their fellow-citizen and friend, a man whose great military talents were deformed by no other fault than that of too boiling a valour, to treat secretly with the disbanded mercenaries at Tenarus; hoping that many of them would be glad to accept the offer of a

CHAP.
III.

Proceed-
ings of the
Athenians.

⁷ Plutarch in Phocion.

CHAP. III. lucrative service under a brave commander even in a less glorious cause than that of restoring their country's freedom.

Their animated decree.
Olymp. exiv. 2.
B. C. 333.

When, not only the death of Alexander, but the discord among his friends and successors was made known in Greece, the Athenian orators boasted of the success of Leosthenes⁸; the assembly confirmed his proceedings; he was voted, by acclamation and holding up of hands, general of the commonwealth. At the instance of Hyperides, for Demosthenes still lived in banishment at Megara⁹, an act of assembly was hastily passed, stating in the enthusiasm of virtue and patriotism, that the Athenians had ever regarded the cause of Greece as their own, and had resolved as firmly now as heretofore, to assert the national interest and glory by their fleet and army, their property and their persons. By virtue of this emphatic decree, which, as usual, with imitations in a degenerate age, copied in lines stronger and warmer than those of nature, the unassumed magnanimity of the ancient republic, ambassadors were despatched to every city of Greece from the southern extremity of Laconia to the northern confines of Thessaly. Demosthenes, though convicted, dishonoured, and exiled, joined himself to the ambassadors; and commissioned only by his resentment and love of liberty, enjoyed, for the last time, an opportunity of inveighing against the barbarous Macedonians, and confirming the revived hopes of his country¹⁰.

The Grecian levies for the war.

When thus instigated to action by ardent embassies from Athens, the Greeks presented not the same well-harmonized picture which we formerly delineated. Their conquerors had adopted the artifice of dividing, in order to govern; and Greece, instead of sixteen, contained above sixty, independent republics. When summoned to this new confederacy, many districts or townships contracted for themselves re-

⁸ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 9.

⁹ In consequence of his condemnation for taking a bribe. See History of Ancient Greece, vol. iv. c. 39. p. 369. Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s.

8. and Plutarch in Demosthen. and in Phocion.

¹⁰ Plutarch in Demosthen. Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 10.

CHAP. III.
 regardless of the authority of their ancient capitals. In former times, the power of Athens had been rivalled by Sparta and Thebes. But Thebes was now no more; Sparta sullenly rejected a league of which Athens was the head; and both the Achæans and Arcadians feared to engage in distant warfare, while the formidable, though much fallen Spartans, remained at home hovering in hostility over their frontiers. But most of the inferior cities, whether capitals or emancipated dependencies, listened to the Athenian orators who inflamed their patriotism, and roused their animosity; while the Athenians themselves levied about six thousand domestic troops¹¹, to reinforce their mercenaries under Leosthenes. That general having marched towards Etolia, had been joined there by above seven thousand young men, the flower of the Etolian nation. Elated by this accession of force, he despatched emissaries to Doris, Phocis, and the neighbouring districts overshadowed by towering ridges from Pelion to Parnassus, exhorting those hardy mountaineers to unite with heart and hand in a cause no less promising than glorious, and redeem the honour of Greece, too long and too cruelly insulted by the despotism of the Macedonians.

The bustle of these preparations was sufficient to have alarmed a man less suspicious than Antipater. But the anxious suspense occasioned by the events consequent on his master's death, had occupied and engrossed his mind; and his vigilance is strongly impeached in the omission of taking into pay the mercenaries assembled at Cape Tenarus, especially as Macedon abounded in money, (much ransacked treasure having recently arrived from Asia,) but was exceedingly drained of men through continual and distant service. Only thirteen thousand foot and six hundred horse are said to have followed Antipater into Thessaly¹²; but he demanded assistance from Leonnatus¹³ the governor of Lesser Phrygia, and

¹¹ 'Οι πολῖται. Diodor. and Plutarch.

¹² Diodor. l. xviii. s. 12.

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¹³ Plutarch in Eumen. *Philotas*, in Diodorus, is plainly an error of transcribers

CHAP.
III.

The same
military ob-
ject aimed
at by both
parties.

sent messengers to quicken the speed of Craterus who was marching to Macedon with ten thousand veterans.

The object of Antipater, as well as of the allied Greeks, was to seize the straits of Thermopylæ, the principal pass from Thessaly into the central provinces of Phocis and Bœotia. If Antipater attained this end, he would thereby separate the Thessalians from the confederacy, and acquire the seasonable assistance of their excellent horse, preeminent in all the battles of cavalry in that age. Should the Greeks anticipate his purpose, they doubted not to have the Thessalians for friends instead of enemies. With this view the domestic troops of the Athenians, levied with much expedition, hastened to Thermopylæ; but in their way thither, encountered unexpected danger from the misguided rage of the Bœotians.

The Athenians defeat the Bœotians. Olymp. exlv. 2.
B. C. 323.

That unhappy people, whose fate it was at almost every important crisis; to oppose the general cause of Greece, were blinded on the present occasion by avarice. Having divided among their own cities or communities, the lands and spoils of demolished Thebes, they dreaded a new revolution through which they might be compelled to relinquish their usurped property. But the Athenians, assisted by Leosthenes, who having already possessed himself of the straits, hastened with a detachment to their relief, totally routed those unworthy adversaries; and having taken post at Thermopylæ, firmly waited the approach of Antipater¹⁴.

Repel Antipater, and shut him up in Lamia.

He arrived, fought, and met with the first severe check which the Macedonians had experienced in the course of their long and various warfare. Unable either to renew the engagement, or to retreat safely towards Macedon, he threw his forces into Lamia, a well fortified city of Thessaly, near the confluence of the Achelous and Sperchius, whose united stream falls at the distance of six miles into the Malian gulph. Leosthenes attempted repeatedly, but ineffectually, to storm the town, before Macedonian reinforcements should arrive

¹⁴ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 11.

from Asia. He was compelled, with much regret, to change the siege into a blockade¹⁵. During this tedious service, the Etolians, who formed an important part of his army, craved leave, with their usual inconstancy, to return home; and their request was granted, because the denial of it could not have altered their resolution. Antipater availed himself of this desertion to make a sally, which was bravely repelled by the besiegers, but in which Leosthenes fell while he exposed his person too rashly¹⁶. To reward his military merit, which had first turned the tide of success against a nation long deemed invincible, he was buried with heroic honours; his funeral oration was pronounced by the eloquence of his countryman Hyperides; and Antipater, both his countryman and friend, was chosen by acclamation to succeed him in the command¹⁷.

CHAP.
III.

Leosthenes
the Athenian general slain in a sally.

Meanwhile Leonnatus sailed unmolested from Hellespontian Phrygia, the Macedonian fleet under Clytus commanding the narrow seas, and keeping at a respectful distance above two hundred Athenian galleys intrusted to Ection. The army of Leonnatus amounted to twenty-three thousand, of which number two thousand five hundred were cavalry. Influenced, however, by the intrigues of Olympias, and the levity of his own character, he had assembled this powerful force, not merely to resist the rebellion of Greece, but far more that he might overawe Antipater and supplant him in his government of Macedon¹⁸. Upon Leonnatus's approach, the Greeks suddenly quitted their works at Lamia. The useless multitude, together with the heavy baggage and military engines, were deposited in the neighbouring strong-holds of Thessaly, whose garrisons were friendly to their interests. With a light, but well equipped army, they advanced northwards to meet Leonnatus, and intercept his junction with Antipater. The encounter happened on the northern confines of Thessaly.

Approach
of Leonna-
tus with his
army.

¹⁵ Id. s. 12. and Pausanias Attic.

¹⁶ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 13.

¹⁷ Id. ibid. and Plut. in Demosth.

¹⁸ Arrian apud Phot. p. 20. obscurely hints at Leonnatus's in-

trigues, *ἀλλὰ σίτησι Λεωνάτος ἐπιβουλήν δοκῶν τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ*. These dark transactions are explained fully by Plutarch in Eumen.

CHAP.
III.

Victory of
the Greeks.
Leonatus
slain.

Notwithstanding the defection of the Etolians, the Greek infantry still amounted to twenty-two thousand; and their cavalry, chiefly Thessalians, exceeded by one thousand that of the enemy. By the resistless impression of this body of horse, commanded by Menon the Thessalian, a brave and accomplished leader, the enemy's squadrons were repelled and routed: Leonatus, who headed them, was slain; and his phalanx of infantry was compelled to retire in disorder to the neighbouring mountains¹⁹. While Antiphilus pursued the scattered enemy, and the Greeks offered their accustomed thanksgiving for victory, Antipater found means to join forces with the vanquished. Yet such was his respect for the Thessalian cavalry that, to avoid engaging them on the plain, he retreated towards Macedon over the craggy ridges of Thessalian Olympus, anxiously expecting the arrival of Craterus with a fresh reinforcement from Asia.

The Greeks
defeated in
a decisive
battle at
Cranon.
Olymp.
cxiv. 2.
B. C. 323.

Craterus at length arrived with a veteran force, well calculated to retrieve the losses of his country. Besides ten thousand Macedonians, hardened in many a laborious campaign, he brought with him into Thessaly a thousand Persian archers, and fifteen hundred cavalry; the seas being cleared for his transports through the defeat of Eetion the Athenian, by his antagonist Clytus the Macedonian²⁰. Having joined Antipater, to whom Craterus readily yielded the chief command, the new army encamped with their vanquished countrymen on the banks of the Peneus, which flows into the Thermaic gulph, through the delightful vale of Tempe compressed by the woody sides of Ossa and Olympus. The united forces of the Macedonians consisted of forty thousand heavy armed men; three thousand archers and slingers; and five thousand cavalry. The Greeks, originally inferior in number, were weakened by the defection of several petty tribes, who had followed the example of the Etolians in returning home

¹⁹ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 25.

²⁰ Diodor. *ibid*.

to attend their domestic affairs; or after the first successes of their arms, to enjoy their shows and triumphs, as if a single victory over Antipater, had happily terminated the war. Antiphilus and Menon lamented this fatal folly, and studiously avoided an engagement against far superior force. But the Macedonian generals knew their business too well to indulge this disposition, and soon brought the enemy to battle between the obscure town of Cranon and the mountains of Cynocephala²¹. The Thessalian horse, headed by the brave Menon, still maintained their preeminence; but the Grecian infantry gave way with the loss of five hundred men, before the shock of Craterus's veterans. They retreated to the neighbouring hills, and were joined there by the cavalry²².

This battle, so inconsiderable in point of bloodshed, decided the fortune of the war, and the subsequent condition of Greece. A herald was sent to Antipater, craving the bodies of the slain, and desiring terms of accommodation. But that general grown old in the arts of government, declared that he would not receive any message from the Greeks in common; each city must treat for its interests apart; on which condition he was ready to enter into negotiation with them. When the allies rejected this proposal, Antipater proceeded to make himself master of several places in Thessaly, to which he granted easy terms of peace. This artful proceeding detached the Thessalians from the confederacy. Other states, despairing of success in so unequal a conflict, were forward in making submission²³; and in professing their readiness to receive Macedonian garrisons as well as to change their democracies into oligarchies; the latter form of republicanism, as the most easily manageable, being that which was always the most agreeable to their conquerors.

The Athenians and Etolians alone continued refractory. Antipater, therefore, determined to lead his army against

CHAP.
III.

Negotiation and treaty of peace with the Greek states separately.

The negotiation with the Athenians.

²¹ Plutarch in Demosthen.

²² Diodor. I. xviii. s. 16, 17.

²³ Diodor. I. xviii. s. 17.

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III.

ans in particular.

Why some particulars of it misrep. presented by Plutarch.

Athens. In his progress thither he entered Bœotia and encamped near the half ruined citadel of desolated Thebes. Instead of opposing his progress by an army, the Athenians, passing from obstinacy to meanness, met him by a suppliant embassy of three citizens, whose personal influence was most likely to soften his resolutions. At the head of the embassy for peace, they sent Phocion their illustrious general who had always most earnestly dissuaded them from unprofitable wars. To Phocion they joined the orator Demades, an old and steady partisan of the Macedonian interest; and Xenocrates the revered successor of Plato in the academy: a philosopher whose gravity and austerity, they thought, would command respect from the most triumphant conqueror. But Xenocrates did not meet with even civility from Antipater; who, receiving Phocion and Demades cordially, scarcely saluted the philosopher, rudely interrupted his discourse, and finally compelled him to an abrupt silence. By a zealous Platonician²⁴, who, in his Life of Phocion, has related some particulars of this negotiation, the behaviour of Antipater is ascribed to his grossness, brutality, and natural antipathy to every semblance of virtue; an accusation itself equally gross and absurd, since glaringly belied by the public and private character of that illustrious Macedonian. But the respectable virtues of Xenocrates were disgraced by asperity and obstinacy. As successor to Plato, he defended dogmatically the errors of that fanciful but admired teacher, whose plastic fancy had given beauty and brilliancy to his crudest conceits and most extravagant chimeras. The *Ideas* and other vaporous creations of Plato, had been assailed and dissipated by the enlightened reason of Aristotle. Xenocrates considered confutation as injury, and long viewed the Stagirate with hatred, which the latter publicly answered by contempt²⁵. When we consider that Aristotle from his youth to his death had continued the most respected friend of Anti-

²⁴ Plutarch in Phocion.

²⁵ Diogen. Laert. in Aristotel. and the Life of Aristotle prefixed

to my translation of his Ethics, &c p. 26. Quarto Edit.

pater²⁶, we need not be surprised that the rivalry of the two great literary ornaments of Greece should have influenced the present negotiation. Xenocrates resented the coldness of his reception, by saying, "he wondered not that Antipater should not look him in the face, lest he might have him for a witness of his intended injustice against Athens." Such imprudent language was only calculated to widen the breach of his country with a resistless enemy. But through the interposition of Phocion, peace was obtained on condition "that the Athenians should new model their dangerous government, should make pecuniary compensation for the expenses incurred by the war, surrender their turbulent demagogues Demosthenes and Hyperides, and receive a Macedonian garrison into their fortified harbour Munychia²⁷. Phocion pleaded strongly against the garrison; but Antipater answered, "My dear Phocion, no request of yours should ever be made in vain, with the exception of that only, which, if granted, would ruin both ourselves and you." Harsh as the conditions were, the Athenians felt the necessity of ratifying them. In addition to other misfortunes, they had been again defeated at sea, an element long propitious to their ancestors. The action was fought off the coast of Thessaly in the Malian gulph near the small islands called Echinades, and between the same commanders as formerly, Clytus and Eetion; the latter of whom lost a great part of the hundred and seventy gallies with which he had been intrusted²⁸. Dispirited by calamities on every side, they agreed to deprive all citizens, not possessing an income of two thousand drachmas²⁹, of suffrage in the assembly. Athens then contained thirty thousand citizens, of whom twenty-one thousand were, on account of their mean circumstances, disfranchised³⁰. Among these nearly twelve thousand³¹, whose seditious poverty had been per-

²⁶ Diogen. *ibid.* and *Life of Aristotle*, p. 32.

²⁷ Pausan. *Achaic*. c. 10. Plutarch in Phocion, and Diodor. l. xviii. s. 18.

²⁸ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 15.

²⁹ Sixty pounds, nearly.

³⁰ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 18.

³¹ Plutarch in Phocion. He counts the number sent into Thrace with the whole number of poor citizens stated at 21,000 in Diodorus.

CHAP. • petually embroiling the affairs of the commonwealth, were on
 III. this occasion transplanted into vacant districts of Thrace, with a due assignment of lands from Antipater in concurrence with Lysimachus, who commanded in that province. The nine thousand comparatively rich citizens, protected by a Macedonian garrison in the Munychia, thenceforward conducted quietly and prudently the affairs of the commonwealth, under the direction of Phocion, until a new and more bloody revolution³².

Death of
 Demosthe-
 nes and
 Hyperides.
 Olymp.
 exiv. 3.—
 B. C. 322.

The only victims indeed of the present change of government, were Demosthenes and Hyperides. But of these two, each was equal to a host. They had both fled at the approach of Antipater, and had been respectively overtaken by his emissaries in the small islands of Calauria and Egina, near the coast of Argos, in the Saronic gulph. The deaths of those orators have been embellished by many tragic³³ circumstances, probably invented in their own times by the admirers of their patriotism, and easily admitted afterwards by the admirers of their eloquence. The seventy seven orations of Hyperides, have long since perished³⁴; and his name only lives in the consenting eulogy of criticism³⁵. Among the titles of his discourses, we read "impeachment of Demosthenes," probably the speech in which he impartially and boldly arraigned his great coadjutor in the commonwealth, for accepting the bribes of Harpalus³⁶. For this offence Demosthenes, as we have already related, was driven from Athens, and continued in exile at Megara, until the common cause of Greece restored him to his country, and the forgiveness of his ancient friend. As the fame of Demosthenes flourished from age to age with increasing vigour, a dark shade thickened over the monument of Antipater. The same

³² Diodorus and Plutarch, *ibid*.

³³ Plutarch in Demosthen.

³⁴ Photius and others ascribe to him the oration still extant in the works of Demosthenes, *περι των προς Αλεξανδρον συνθηκων*, Demosth. Wolf. p. 86. But that oration is not mark-

ed by excellence, and is only valuable for its facts unnoticed elsewhere.

³⁵ Quintilian, Longinus, and Dion. Chrysost. Dissert. viii.

³⁶ Plutarch in Demosth. et in Phocion. et Diodorus, l. xviii s. 8.

eloquence, which, with the living voice, arraigned and often traduced Philip, still continued in the dead letter to vilify and disgrace his honest and able minister; for such is the peculiar glory of letters, that whoever insults their cause through injustice and cruelty to any of their real ornaments, must inevitably incur, with whatever flattery he may be surrounded in his own times, the contemptuous indignation of succeeding ages.

During these proceedings in Greece, the affair of Samos, which had first occasioned the rebellion, was settled by the authority of Perdiccas, who, notwithstanding his personal hostility to Antipater, still cooperated with him in the common concerns of the empire. The Athenians were divested of their usurped property in the island; and the expelled Samians, or their descendents, now languishing in miserable exile in many different parts of Greece, were reinstated in their hereditary possessions, of which they had been deprived forty three years³⁷.

After the submission of Athens, the Etolians only remained hostile; and that fierce people were still undaunted, though on all sides deserted. When Antipater and Craterus marched against them, they assembled to the number of ten thousand fighting men. The helpless part of their communities with their most precious effects were conveyed to strong castles among the mountains. The fields and villages in the open country were abandoned. The warriors took post in the narrow and intricate avenues, which led to their remote fortresses containing every thing most dear to them. As often as the Macedonians attacked them, the assailants were repelled with very considerable loss, until by a new succession of invaders, the receding Etolians were copped up within the gorges of hills covered with snow, alike destitute of corn and cattle. When no alternative remained, but that of starving amidst winter storms, or descending to combat a far superior enemy, fortune in pity to their valour sent Antigonus

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III.

The Samians recover their country after a banishment of forty three years.

Fierce resistance of the Etolians.

³⁷ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 18.

CHAP. from Asia, to display in such strong colours the dangerous
III. views of Perdiccas, that the Macedonian generals were in haste to abandon the Etolian war. To this fierce nation they granted immediate peace, firmly resolving, however, as soon as the urgency of more important concerns allowed leisure and opportunity, to transplant such obstinate rebels from Greece into some remote region of Asia³⁸. But their meditated vengeance was not carried into execution. The Etolians, encouraged by Perdiccas, renewed the war; though often vanquished by the Macedonians, they were never thoroughly subdued: and their love of independence, or rather their aversion to the restraints of regular government, their rapacity, and ferocity, deform the last pages of Grecian history.

Conquest
of Cyrene,
by Ptole-
my.
Olymp.
xiv. 2.
C. 323.

The ambition of Alexander's immediate successors collected into one sphere of action, all the scattered communities belonging to the Grecian name, in the three divisions of the ancient world. During the regency of Perdiccas, the remote colony of Cyrene, which from its establishment on the African coast, six hundred and thirty one years before the Christian era, had taken but a feeble interest in the affairs of the mother country³⁹, first emerges into such historical importance, as demands our attention to the primary object or design of that remote settlement; and the principal proceedings through which that desired end was either promoted or thwarted. Upon this disquisition I enter with the greater pleasure, because the observations applicable to Cyrene in Africa, perfectly accord with the history already given of many and more considerable emporiums in Asia.

Early con-
nexion of
Greece
with that
part of the
African
coast.

The amours of Jupiter with the African nymph Cyrene⁴⁰, the temple of Minerva on the lake Tritonis⁴¹, the ægis of the goddess invented by the inhabitants of that neighbourhood⁴²,

³⁸ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 24, 25.

⁴⁰ Pausan. in Laconic.

³⁹ See History of Ancient Greece,

⁴¹ Scylax Perip. p. 49.

v. i. c. 8. and v. iii. c. 24.

⁴² Herodotus, l. iv. c. 189.

and the famed garden of the Hesperides, from which Hercules transported the golden apples⁴³, all these circumstances point to an early intercourse between Greece and that part of the Mediterranean coast, which lay directly eastward of the domain of Carthage. When we descend in history to more solid ground, there is abundant evidence that this intercourse was encouraged by repeated and earnest admonitions of the oracle of Delphi⁴⁴; a circumstance in conjunction with particulars to be immediately related, indicating that the priests of Greece were not less zealous than those of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Assyria, in extending the commercial relations of their country.

Africa, whose finest regions since the downfall of the Roman empire in the west, have been desolated by Vandals and Arabs, by sanguinary barbarism, and intolerant and more sanguinary superstition, abounded, as it still abounds, in precious commodities, which strike the mind more powerfully, because they are distributed by the hand of nature, into large and distinct masses. The whole continent is separated by the intermediate Sahara or desert, into Libya and Ethiopia; and Libya, the northern division, stretching from the Atlantic to Egypt, was early distinguished into two broad belts, of which the nearest now called Barbary, forms the whole southern coast of the Mediterranean, and the other partially disjoined from it by scattered branches of mount Atlas, is known by a harsh Arabic name⁴⁵ denoting the land of dates; an article in all ages of indispensable use to its inhabitants. The same tract is called by Herodotus the land of wild beasts⁴⁶; and it is still infested by those savages beyond any other country in the world. The wild beasts naturally retired from the populous haunts of men, and the well cultivated shores of the Mediterranean. In the country of

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Cause of
that con-
nexion—
Commer-
cial geogra-
phy of
Africa.

⁴³ Diodorus, Hyginus, Apollodorus. Conf. Rennell's Geog. of Herodot. p. 611.

sim.
⁴⁵ Beledulgerid.

⁴⁶ *Ἀἰὼν θηριώδης* Herodot. I. iv. c.

⁴⁴ Herodot. I. iv. c. 164. and pas- 181.

CHAP. dates, they had fewer enemies to fear; and when at any
 III. time very obstinately assailed, might secure their safety by retreating into the southern desert.

Ethiopia. Beyond this huge belt of sand, in many parts a thousand miles broad, and in length commensurate with the continent which it deforms, the Ethiopia of the Greeks corresponded nearly with the Soudan or Negritia of modern geographers⁴⁷. It comprehended, in general, Africa south of the desert; the inhabitants of its western parts are described in antiquity, as a black, dwarfish, and harmless people⁴⁸ but the eastern Ethiopians were remarkable for their lofty stature, their beauty, and their longevity⁴⁹. The whole country was famed for the rich productions of ivory, ebony, and gold. Its plains were often covered with tall forests of wonderful variety and beauty, and its diversified hills of moderate ascent, contained copious mines of gold, within a few fathoms of the surface. With whatever terrors nature had clothed the intermediate regions of Africa, she had, therefore, with her usual bounty made compensation, by enriching and adorning the extremes of Ethiopia and Libya⁵⁰.

Libya. The western division of Libya, comprehending Mauritania and Numidia, with the proper domain of Carthage, still retains great fertility and populousness, notwithstanding many successive ravages of desolating Barbarians. The eastern division extending from the neighbourhood of Tunis to Egypt, is formidable to mariners on account of the dangerous Syrtes, and repulsive in the interior country on account of the sandy plains of Barca and Marmarica. Yet the Syrtic region itself was renowned for the happy and hospitable Leptophagi⁵¹; and another district in the same region borrowing its name from the river Cinyphs, by which it is watered, equal-

⁴⁷ Herodot. l. iii. c. 114. Conf. Poirer description de la Negritie. Labat relat. nouvelle de l'Afrique, and Proceedings of African association.

⁴⁸ Herodot. l. ii. c. 32. & l. iv. c. 42.

⁴⁹ Herodot. l. iii. c. 17. and seq. & l. vii. p. 70.

⁵⁰ Herodot. *ibid.* Conf. Bruce's Travels, v. i. p. 382. and *passim*.

⁵¹ Strabo, l. iii. p. 157. and Plin. l. vi. c. 7.

led⁵² in exuberance the Assyrian plains. To the eastward of Cinyps and the great Syrtis, the bold coast of Cyrene⁵³ projects towards Crete and the Peloponnesus, in the same direction that Carthage advances to meet, as it were, and defy Sicily and Italy. The gardens of the Hesperides, and the fertile territory surrounding them, which returned all kinds of grain with the increase of an hundred fold⁵⁴, had early attracted the notice of those Greeks most ambitious of colonization and conquest. On the greatest part of the African shore their enterprise had been anticipated by the Phœnicians⁵⁵. But their priests, and especially those of Delphi, still⁵⁶ directed their views to the elevated tract of Cyrene, which hitherto remained unoccupied, and which, besides the temptation of a rich soil for tillage, offered them an easy participation, by the intervention of neighbouring Nomades, in the valuable commerce of gold, ebony, and ivory. As the nations of antiquity traded chiefly with their own colonies, a settlement on the African coast, appeared the surest expedient for procuring those commodities in abundance. Such are the notices which seemed necessary as a key to the following short narrative of the origin, progress, prosperity and downfall of the first establishment formed by Europeans in Africa.

In the diminutive island of Thera, the most southern of the Cyclades, Polymnestus, a powerful citizen, had a bold and ambitious son, who enduring impatiently an ungraceful⁵⁷ hesitation in his speech, applied to the oracle of Delphi, about the best means for remedying that defect. Instead of answering him on the subject of his voyage, the oracle saluted him by the name of Battus, which in the Libyan language signifies a king, and exhorted him to lead a colony into Libya.

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III.

The
Greeks under Battus
colonize a
desert island
and on the
African
coast.
Olymp.
xxxvii. 2.
B. C. 631.

⁵² Herodot. l. iv. c. 171—198.

⁵³ Cyrene properly denotes a city, but is commonly applied by Greek writers to the whole territory of Cyrenaica, of which that city was the capital.

⁵⁴ Herodot. *ibid.*

⁵⁵ See above Survey, s. iv.

⁵⁶ Herodot. l. iv. c. 155.

⁵⁷ Herodotus, l. iv. c. 155. The son of Polymnestus not only hesitated, but had a difficulty in pronouncing certain letters. See Aristotle's definition of *ισχυρῆσις* and *τραχυλογία* (Problem xi. 30.) the defects ascribed by Herodotus to Battus.

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The foundation of new cities, seems, on this as on other occasions, to have been embellished by fables. The disobedience of Battus to the oracle was punished, we are told, by a dreadful drought at Thera, which left not a single tree on the island. The distressed inhabitants having sent a deputation to consult the god, received for answer, that their affairs would grow prosperous, if they assisted Battus in colonizing Cyrene. In consequence of this admonition, two galleys, each of fifty oars, sailed towards the African coast, but instead of landing on the continent, only occupied the little desert island of Platæa, in a deep bay about a hundred miles eastward of the lofty table land, to which the oracle had directed them. In this inhospitable spot, the Thereans might have perished for hunger, had not their wants been relieved by a Samian vessel, which in her voyage to Egypt, happened to touch at Platæa: and whose generous assistance on this occasion gave birth to the intimate friendship which afterwards subsisted between Samos and Cyrene⁵⁸. Disappointed in the hopes which had produced their migration from Thera, Battus and his companions again had recourse to the god, complaining that though they had obeyed his injunction, and established a colony in Libya, calamity still pursued them in that new settlement. The Pythia answered, that their sagacity was indeed admirable, if they, who had never yet landed in Libya, should know it better than herself, who had travelled in that country. Conformably to this answer, they transferred their colony from the isle of Platæa to a place called Aziris on the opposite continent, a beautiful and well watered district, almost surrounded by hills of easy ascent, and which waved with shadowy forests⁵⁹. At Aziris, and afterwards at Cyrene, which the Libyans encouraged them to occupy, by saying that rain was peculiarly abundant in that quarter⁶⁰, the colonists remained forty years under Battus, and sixteen under Arcesilaus his son. They received

⁵⁸ Herodot. I. iv. c. 152.

⁵⁹ Id. I. iv. c. 157.

⁶⁰ The heavens they said were
bored at Cyrene, Id. I. iv. c. 158.

not however any considerable accession from Greece, until the reign of the second Battus, surnamed the happy.

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Under the fortunate administration of this third king, the oracle strongly exhorted the Peloponnesians, the Cretans, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring Cyclades, to colonize Libya, and to divide its lands with their Cyrenean brethren.

A new Grecian colony sent to Africa. Olymp. xlvii. 2. B. C. 591.

In consequence of this admonition, the emigrants were so numerous, and the territories which they required for their subsistence so considerable, that the Libyans who had treated the first settlers as friendly traders, began to take the alarm, and applied for assistance to Apries, king of Egypt, on promise of submitting themselves as tributaries to that power. Apries listened to their request; but the powerful army which he sent to their relief was so completely defeated in the district Trasa, contiguous to Aziris, that few messengers returned to announce the public calamity⁶¹: while the disasters above related, of Apries and of Egypt, prevented any retaliation on the part of that monarchy.

After this illustrious victory, gained five hundred and seventy two years before Christ, the Greeks, had they remained true to themselves, might have established their dominion so firmly on the African coast, as would have reversed its future fortune, and converted into a source of civilization and light, a country destined to become the perpetual abode of dreary darkness and sullen barbarism. But the insolence of prosperity was accompanied by growing dissensions, among men collected from a variety of coasts and isles, which terminated in rebellion against Arcesilaus their fourth king, son to Battus the happy. The insurrection was headed by four brothers to the king⁶². Being expelled from Cyrene, the rebels retreated to the distance of fourscore miles into the southern district of Barca, founded the city of that name, and entered into an unnatural alliance with the Libyans. Soon afterwards, Arcesilaus met his united enemies

Seditions in Cyrene and cause thereof. Olymp. lii. 3.—lxxxvii. 2.—B. C. 570—431.

⁶¹ Herodot. l. iv. c. 159.

⁶² Stephen Byzant, voc. *Βαρχη*.

nesians and Cretans: the third, of all the other islanders who had assisted in forming the settlement. We are not told whether those tribes were placed with regard to each other on a foot of equality, or by what differences of political rights they were distinguished. Collectively they engrossed all those powers, deliberative, executive, and judicial, which formerly centered in the king; whose prerogative was now confined to the exclusive dignity of certain priesthoods, and to the enjoyment of an appropriate domain, wider and more valuable than the estates of other citizens⁶⁵.

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Battus IV., who had succeeded to the throne, bore his degradation patiently; being a man of an unambitious temper, and besides, afflicted from his youth with a lameness in his feet, which, in some measure, disqualified him for the fatiguing duties of public life. His son, Arcesilaus IV., endeavoured to resume the plenitude of royal power. He was expelled the country; but restored through the assistance of the Samians, his hereditary friends; and having disgraced his good fortune by atrocious cruelty, was slain in the streets of Barca, by the indignant kinsmen of those Cyreneans whom he had banished, murdered, or burned alive in a great tower distinguished by the name of its builder Aglamachus⁶⁶. Abominable were the proceedings of Greek tyrants, in all quarters of the world. In proportion to the high spirit of liberty among the people, the more horrid examples seemed necessary to overawe them.

While Arcesilaus still lived at Barca, his mother Pheretima, a woman of a masculine spirit, sustained the government of Cyrene; presiding personally as chief magistrate in the deliberations of the senate. But, upon the death of her son, Pheretima being divested of her authority, escaped into Egypt, and obtained from Aryandes, who governed that province under Darius Hystaspis, the assistance of a Persian army, through which the ambitious satrap hoped to conquer Libya, and with which the enraged queen expected to inflict

⁶⁵ Herodot. l. iv. c. 161.

⁶⁶ Ibid. c. 162.

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vengeance on her enemies. The successes of the Persians put Barca into her hands after a long siege. Upon entering the place she impaled and left hanging on the walls the men in arms, and above this horrid fretwork, is said to have raised one still more abominable, the dismembered breasts of their wives and kinswomen. In attempting to gain by assault the stronger city of Cyrene, the Persians were seized with a panic terror. Their return to Egypt was harassed by the predatory pursuit of the Libyan Nomades. Pheretima accompanied their disgraceful retreat, and died soon afterwards most miserably. A just judgment of the gods, as Herodotus piously deems it, against the mad fury of revenge⁶⁷.

Flourish-
ing state of
Cyrene.
Olymp.
lxxxvii. 1.
exiv. 2. B.
C. 432—
323.

The Cyreneans had remained two⁶⁸ centuries under Battus and his descendents, whose dominion expired amidst a dreadful accumulation of crimes and calamities. But happier times succeeded; and the period of an hundred and nine years that elapsed between the flight of the Persians and the conquest of Cyrene by the first Ptolemy, is brightened alike by the prosperity and patriotism of its citizens. Their territories were enlarged; their commerce was extended; and their populousness flourished through native vigour, without any dangerous accessions from the mother country. During the same century, corresponding nearly with the fourth before the Christian era, Cyrene produced men illustrious in arts as well as arms, and sustained honourable competitions at the Olympic games in accomplishments then exclusively characteristic of Greeks, and their noblest preeminence. It would be an invaluable record that should inform us how the institutions of Demonax the Arcadian were upheld and modified so as to terminate in such happy results. The five cities of Cyrenaica which conferred on it the name of Pentapolis, should seem to have constituted a confederacy resembling that of the Lycians; arranged with such justice and wisdom, as reconciled the interests of the whole with the pretensions of its component members⁶⁹.

⁶⁷ Herodot. l. iv. c. 202. & seq.

⁶⁸ Schol. in Pindar. Ode 1. Pyth.

⁶⁹ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 664, 665.

Comp. my translation of Aristotle's
Politics, vol. ii. p. 77. & seq. 8vo
Edit.

In the time of Herodotus, who gave the last corrections to his history four hundred and eight years before the Christian era, Cyrenaica extended westward from its capital scarcely an hundred and forty miles along the African coast. But shortly afterwards, a memorable transaction proves that its boundary, in the same direction, had been advanced to the innermost recess of the great Syrtis; and its territory thereby nearly doubled in extent, though not proportionally increased in value. The transaction to which I allude, appeared of such importance to a great historian, that he suspends the course of his splendid narrative in order to record it⁷⁰. The height of Cyrenean prosperity coincided with the most flourishing ages of Carthage, before the Carthaginians had been assailed by Agathocles of Sicily, and their finest provinces plundered and desolated by that merciless invader⁷¹. During this period, Egypt having sadly degenerated under the barbarous yoke of Persia, Carthage was the only power in Africa that could alarm the walled cities of the Pentapolis. Discord arose between nations unfriendly by blood and neighbourhood, competitors for conquest, and rivals in commerce. But the only particular in the war, that has come to posterity, is the memorable incident by which it terminated. This was the adjustment of their common boundary by two Carthaginian youths, the brothers Philæni, and two young Cyreneans. It is not clearly explained by what arrangements between the rival states their respective citizens were to set out, at the same time, and from assigned places, so that the spot where they met should be fairly regarded as their mutual frontier. They met at the south-eastern extremity of the great Syrtis, where a branch of that gulph penetrates the deepest inland. The Cyreneans, thinking that they had not reached a sufficient distance to satisfy the expectation of their country,

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Enlargement of its territory.—Philænian altars.

⁷⁰ Sallust. Bell. Jugurthin.

⁷¹ This expedition will be related

⁸⁵ Plutarch in Caton. Utic. Somewhat circumstantially hereafter. It hap-

pened 309 years before Christ, and 55 years before the first war between Carthage and Rome.

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complained that the Carthaginians had taken their departure before the stipulated time. The latter denied the accusation; but offered to embrace any just and equal expedient by which the contest might be decided. Then said the Cyreneans, "allow yourselves to be buried here alive amidst these sands, since we are ready to accept that condition for the sake of extending the limits of our country." The Carthaginians consented, and met death in its most frightful form⁷². Huge mounds of earth⁷³ composed what were thenceforward called the the Philæian altars; unperishing memorials of of those who offered, as well as of those who accepted the patriotic alternative.

Descrip-
tion of the
Pentapo-
lis—Hes-
peris.

The enlargement of Cyrenaica to the Philæian altars westward, and eastward to the mountainous Catabathmus, which overlooked the sandy deserts of Marmarica, added far less to the public prosperity, than the high agricultural improvements of the central district. This consisted of a soft and rich soil; it was well watered throughout; it abounded in shady woods and flowery fields; and it afforded in great variety the most useful plants and animals⁷⁴. Its limits were defined by the production of Silphium: this plant marked the region of fertility; and where silphium ceased to grow, the soil was unfit for culture. This general notice, from an author of the highest credit⁷⁵, is rendered special and satisfactory by the information of Herodotus, that the silphium was confined to the territory between Platæa and the mouth of the great Syrtis⁷⁶; a direct inland journey of only two hundred miles, but far more considerable along the waving coast. The distance exactly corresponds with that between Platæa and the city called Berenice, now Bernic, in whose neighbourhood concurring testimonies place the far famed gardens of the Hesperides; for Berenice was a new name borrowed from the celebrated Egyptian queen, wife to the first Ptolemy, the conqueror of Cyrene, and bestowed on the ancient Hes-

⁷² Sallust. Bell. Jugurthin.

⁷⁵ Arrian, Ind. Hist. cap. ult.

⁷³ Plin. l. v. c. 4.

⁷⁶ Herodot. l. iv. c. 170. and 191

⁷⁴ Strabo, l. xviii. p. 836.

peris, the most southern city of the confederacy on the immediate frontier of the desert ⁷⁷. Here instead of level sands and unvaried sterility, the ground first began to swell into gentle elevations, to wave with woods, and to be refreshed by fountains. Contrast between such scenery and the dreary desolation in its neighbourhood, procured an early celebrity for Hesperis, above other districts of Cyrenaica. In the fables of the poets, which are often histories in disguise, Hercules was celebrated for conveying from thence the golden apples; and if citrons and oranges are denoted by that name ⁷⁸, the enterprise well accorded with the beneficent views of a hero who surmounted every danger to transplant the wild olive into Greece ⁷⁹.

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Taucheira, north of Hesperis, changed its name to Arsinoë from the daughter of the above mentioned Ptolemy Soter; but the ancient appellation revived, and prevails to the present day. Both Hesperis and Taucheira were seaports; but Cyrene and Barca, of which the former was fourscore miles; north-east of Hesperis, and the latter midway between them, were respectively distant from the coast about twelve miles; and Cyrene, the mother and the queen of all those cities, being situate on a lofty terrace, displayed its glittering towers to distant vessels, as they made for its spacious bay and convenient harbour. Apollonia, the harbour of Cyrene, appears not to have been politically distinguished from the city itself; but the port of Barca, called Ptolemais, must have formed a community apart, since it completed the confederacy of the Pentapolis; a confederacy whose decayed members in the form of towns or villages subsist to the present day under the nearly unaltered names of Kurin, Barca, Bernic, Taukeira, and Tollemata ⁸⁰.

⁷⁷ Pliny places the Hesperides near Lixos in Mauritania, but changes this opinion in speaking of Berenice. Conf. Plin. l. v. c. 1. and 5.

⁷⁸ *Κίτρον καλλισθαί παρὰ τοῖς Λιβύσι μὲν τὴν Εσπερίαν, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς κομῆσαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ χρυσία διὰ τῆς ἰδίας λεγόμενα μήλα.* "Citrons were called Hesperian apples among the

Libyans, from whom Hercules carried into Greece the apples we name golden from their appearance." Juba apud Athenæum, l. iii. p. 83.

⁷⁹ Pind. Olymp. Ode 3.

⁸⁰ Shaw's Travels. Conf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 837. & seq.

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Its com-
merce with
the interior
of Africa.

While the Cyreneans extended and embellished their territories, they neglected not the primary objects of their establishment. Commerce both by land and sea was cultivated assiduously and boldly. Their harbours were crowded with merchantmen, chiefly Greeks; and their inland possessions extended to the region of dates, whose inhabitants have been in all ages the greatest travelling merchants in the world, if greatness is to be measured by fatigue and danger. It must be impossible from the nature of the thing to ascertain the ever fitting limits of the Nomades that skirted the dominions of Carthage and Cyrene; the Nasamones celebrated for their enterprise and prowess⁸¹; the Psylli, universally renowned for their power over serpents⁸², although that power is variously ascribed to nature⁸³, to art⁸⁴, and to magic⁸⁵; and the Garamantes, whose character is so differently painted by Herodotus⁸⁶, that he may be conjectured to speak of two distinct nations, confounded through some error under one name. Among all these tribes necessity gave birth to well appointed caravans, by means of which only, it was possible to penetrate the desert, and procure those rich commodities of southern Africa, which were purchased with emulation on the Cyrenean and Carthaginian shores. The desert which at first sight seemed to oppose invincible barriers to this traffic, in some measure promoted it, by the attractive influence of many springs of salt water, forming innumerable saline hills interspersed at convenient distances between its eastern and western extremity⁸⁷. As salt is entirely wanting in Ethiopia, or Nigritia, in the largest extent of these names, the southern Africans had to provide themselves in the Sahara with this essential necessary, and to meet, as it were, half

⁸¹ Herodot. l. iv. c. 172.

⁸² Lucan Pharsal. l. ix. v. 897.
Plin. l. vii. c. 2.

⁸³ Lucan, *ibid.* and Solin. c. 27.

⁸⁴ Aristot. *Histor. Animal.* and
Scylax *Peripl.*

⁸⁵ Plutarch in *Caton. Utic. Somnulosum ut Pœnus aspide[m] Psyllus.*

Helvius Cinna apud A. Gell. ix. 12.

⁸⁶ Conf. Herodot. l. iv. c. 174. and
c. 183. The Garamantes are proved
by Major Rennell to be the people
of Fezzan. *Geog. of Herodot.* p. 615
& seq.

⁸⁷ Herodot. l. iv. c. 183. & seq.

way the Libyans who came in quest of gold, and the articles of ebony, ivory, and slaves, then deemed as indispensable to luxury, as salt is to nature. When Africa is accurately explored, we shall be able to ascertain the routes which Herodotus slightly traces from the neighbourhood of Carthage and Cyrene to Egypt in one direction, and to the nations south of the desert in another. From the confines of the Lesser Syrtis, we shall pursue his fifty days' journey to mount Atlas; and proceeding southward from that mountain to the present empire of Morocco, traverse the broadest part of the desert, the frightful Zanhaga, to vast salt mines wrought by the hand of man, clearly distinguishable from the saline springs and huge granulous hills of salt in other parts of Africa, since they consisted of hard mineral rocks, of which the miners built for their accommodation durable houses ⁸⁸ in that region of eternal drought. Similar mines and in a like situation are described by Leo ⁸⁹ at Tecazza twenty days' journey due west of Tombuctoo: which latter place appears, from the latest researches, to be the principal and most remarkable town in the interior of Africa ⁹⁰.

Among the commodities calculated to bear the longest transportation by land, the Cyreneans drew from Southern Africa, agates⁹¹, amethysts, and a variety of other gems, several of which exquisitely engraved, will attest to the latest posterity the ingenuity and taste of this African commonwealth four centuries before the Christian era. The universal passion of the citizens for this kind of ornament, excited the emulation of artists, "and wonderfully improved their skill"⁹². The poorest Cyrenean would give the value of thirty guineas for a ring or seal. From the carving of precious stones, there was an easy transition to the casting of medals with the most beautiful designs, particularly the small Cyrenean medals of fine gold, requiring the assistance of glasses to read their inscriptions and perceive the admi-

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III.

⁸⁸ Herodot. l. iv. c. 185.

⁸⁹ Leo African. p. 225. & seq.

⁹⁰ African Researches 1799, p.

⁹¹ Καρχηδονιοι λιθοι, a kind of agate.

Strabo, l. xvii. p. 835.

⁹² Ælian Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 30.

CHAP. III. rable delicacy of their workmanship. On these gems and medals we frequently meet with the silphium, a *rosaceous*

shrub of sweet fragrancv, which, though it grew in Persia, Media, and the Indian Paropamisus, was of such superior excellency⁹³ in the Cyrenaica, that "the silphium of Battus" was proverbial in antiquity to denote whatever was most precious⁹⁴. The silphium is an annual plant; its juice, obtained by incision from the trunk and stem, was in universal request among the credulous for the purposes of medicine, and among the luxurious for those of cookery. The Greeks bought it for its weight in silver, deeming it of indispensable use in alleviating disease and gladdening festivity. The rancorous disputes of critics⁹⁵ have involved in needless obscurity the subject of silphium, which is still found⁹⁶ in the neighbourhood of Derna between the isle of Platæa and the modern Kurin. It abounded far more, indeed, during the flourishing ages of the Cyrenean confederacy, and the more plentiful it was, the Cyreneans showed the more jealousy of its exportation, on which they should seem to have imposed a heavy duty. The Carthaginians certainly carried on a contraband trade for silphium from their nearest harbour Charax, in the great Syrtis, a little eastward of the tower Euphrantas. To Charax the Carthaginians sent wine and the produce of their manufactures, and brought from thence Cyrenean oil and unguents, various kinds of fruits, flowers of a peculiar hue and fragrancv⁹⁷, above all the silphium, carried clandestinely⁹⁸, to Charax by Cyrenean smugglers.

⁹³ Dioscorid. l. iii. c. 97. Conf. Arrian, Ind. Hist. c. ult.

⁹⁴ Οὐδ' ἂν εἰ δοίης γέ μοι τὸν Πλάτων αὐτὸν, καὶ τὸ Βάττυ σιλπίον. "No! nor should you give me the god of riches himself, and the silphium of Battus." Aristophanes.—Compare Hesychius Βάττυ σιλπίον· σκαρομία ἐπὶ τῶν τὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας τιμὰς ἱερικομίσων adding that the silphium was of such high estimation among the Cyreneans, that they stamped their coins with the silphium on one side,

and with Jupiter Hammon on the other.

⁹⁵ Bentley and others would prove the fragrant Silphium to be *Asa fetida*.

⁹⁶ See Memoir of M. le Maire. French consul in Tripoli in 1706, cited in Memoire de l'Academie, v. xxxvi. p. 24.

⁹⁷ Theophrast. Hist. Plant. l. i. c. 3. and Athenæus, l. xv.

⁹⁸ Τὸν ἐκ κυρήνης λαθρὰ καμίζοντά. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 836.

The Cynæans had the means of happiness, but knew not quietly to enjoy them. Four hundred years before Christ⁹⁹, their republic was disturbed by a sedition originating in the ordinary dissensions between rich and poor in the Greek commonwealths. About this time probably they applied to Plato, justly provoked at the Athenians for the judicial murder of Socrates, to visit their country and assist in its legislation. He is said to have declined this honorable office, by frankly declaring that their circumstances were too prosperous to bear the restraint of salutary laws¹⁰⁰. Under such institutions, therefore, as their constitution admitted, they continued to live for four score years afterwards, until shortly before the death of Alexander, the confederacy of the Pentapolis was involved in such tumults as finally terminated in its complete subjection under his first Egyptian successor.

In a former work we have related how Harpalus, financial administrator in Babylon, having drawn on himself the resentment of his generous master by ill government and profligacy, escaped to Greece with five thousand talents and six thousand mercenaries¹⁰¹. Banished from Athens through the terrors with which Alexander's name filled that and neighbouring commonwealths, he sailed with his troops and part of his treasures to Crete¹⁰², where, as that island is directly opposite to Cyrenaica, he might seasonably avail himself of the troubles in the latter, to form an establishment on the African coast. But the traitor, Harpalus, was perfidiously slain in the isle of Crete by his associate, Thimbron, a traitor more daring than himself who succeeded to his resources and projects¹⁰³. Thimbron, with a numerous fleet, sailed for Cyrenaica, when the Grecian confederacy was weakened by dissension, and the principal city in the league

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III.Dissensions
between
rich and
poor.
Olymp.
xcv. 1.—D.
C. 400.Cyrene invaded by
Thimbron.
Olymp.
xciv. 2. B.
C. 323.⁹⁹ Diodorus places this event. vgl. iv. c. 39.

Olymp. xciv. 4. B. C. 401. Diodorus, l. xiv. s. 34.

¹⁰² Diodorus, l. xvii. s. 108.¹⁰³ Id. *ibid.* Conf. Plutarch in Demosth. and Phocion.¹⁰⁰ Plutarch in Lucull. p. 492.¹⁰¹ History of Ancient Greece,

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torn by intestine discord. His veteran army, seven thousand strong, had been reinforced in Crete by a large body of Cyrenean exiles, breathing resentment against their country. Under these guides, Thimbron effected a descent; vanquished the Cyreneans in a battle where many of them fell, and many were made prisoners; gained possession of their harbour Apollonia, and having successfully assaulted, was prepared to sack their capital. In this state of affairs the Cyreneans requested and obtained a suspension of hostilities. To ransom the place from military execution, Thimbron demanded from its magistrates a large sum of money, and one half their chariots of war; at the same time sending embassies to the subordinate cities of the confederacy, offering to them his friendship, upon condition that they assisted him with troops against the neighbouring Libyans. The Cyrenean magistrates paid part of the contribution, and professed readiness to comply with the full extent of Thimbron's demands. Barca and Hesperis also accepted his proposals, Ptolemais the port of Barca imitated the submission of that city. The inconsiderable republic of Taucheira alone seemed anxious to defend its freedom¹⁰⁴.

Thimbron
betrayed
by Mnasi-
cles.

When the affairs of Thimbron were in this prosperous state, his rash and unprincipled rapacity prepared for him a sudden reverse of fortune. Having plundered the merchantmen and magazines in Apollonia, in his division of the booty he offended Mnasielles, a man of nearly equal weight with himself in the army; by birth a Cretan, through long experience a skilful captain, and uniting great personal courage with all the wiles of his country. Through the defection of Mnasielles to the Cyreneans, a new spirit was inspired into the vanquished. They recovered from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the suddenness and boldness of the descent; placed their city in a posture of defence; and refused to pay the remainder of the contribution due by them. To chastise their breach of faith, Thimbron seized part of

¹⁰⁴ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 19. & seq.

their citizens, who had unwarily remained in Apollonia; and, reinforced by auxiliaries from Barca and Hesperis, again besieged Cyrene. But his success was far different from what he had formerly experienced. Unable to make any impression on the walls, he retired with his baffled army to Apollonia. The Cyreneans, not contented with deliverance from danger, retaliated the hostilities of Barca and Hesperis, by ravaging and almost desolating the nearest territories of those states. Thimbron sailed with the greatest part of his troops to the assistance of his allies, leaving Apollonia unguarded. The watchful Mnasicles ably availed himself of this error. With a handful of Cyreneans, he recovered their lost harbour of Apollonia, and the rich magazines contained in it, which were faithfully restored to their rightful owners. He then fortified its entrances so skillfully against Thimbron's ships, that they were thenceforth totally excluded, on that side, from all communication with the country, by means of which chiefly, they had hitherto supplied their wants¹⁰⁵. Meanwhile Thimbron, after protecting the territories of his allies, overcame the obstinacy of Tauchira, the smallest city in the Pentapolis, but which, being united in itself, had the most manfully resisted his invasion. His advantages however in this quarter did not compensate for the loss of Apollonia, since his ships upon their return northward, being baffled in all attempts to enter that harbour, were obliged to land dispersedly on the adjacent coasts; and their crews being thus assailed in straggling parties, were either put to the sword, or compelled hastily to embark in such stormy weather that they were driven on the shores of Cyprus and Egypt. Upon this disaster Thimbron was on the point of abandoning his enterprise, when his courage was revived by a reinforcement of nearly three thousand troops from Peloponnesus. These were a new swarm of Greek mercenaries, who had rendezvoused at the promontory of Tenarus, to whom Thimbron, on his first reverse of fortune, had sent proper

¹⁰⁵ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 20.

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agents to engage them in his service. Their seasonable arrival encouraged him to risk a battle with the Cyreneans, who, in the progress of the war, had greatly augmented their domestic army by auxiliaries from Libya and even Carthage, a republic long hostile to Cyrene, but now more jealous of Thimbron and his mercenaries, who had served under Alexander. The whole of ~~their~~ forces amounted to thirty thousand combatants; infantry, cavalry, and chariots of war fighting after the fashion of the heroic ages. This ill composed army was defeated with great slaughter; its officers were all slain; and such Cyreneans as escaped from the battle were cooped up within their walls to which Thimbron for the third time laid siege. Their sufferings exasperated those political factions, in which all their evils had originated. The nobles and more opulent citizens who wished to capitulate, were expelled by the people. One part of them sought refuge with Thimbron, another sailed to Egypt to request the assistance of Ptolemy¹⁰⁶.

Thimbron made prisoner, and the Cyreneans reduced by Ptolemy's general Ophellias. Olymp. cix. 2. B. C. 323.

That sagacious prince who had strongly fortified his province by walls, troops, treasures, above all, by the grateful affection of his Egyptian subjects, perceived the fair opportunity of extending his dominion over a contiguous and wealthy coast. With the utmost expedition he prepared a fleet and army, intrusting both to Ophellias, his companion in arms under the great Alexander. Ophellias landed on the coast before the complete reduction of the Cyreneans; and his arrival produced very surprising changes in their contending factions. The rich and noble who had previously fled to Thimbron's camp, endeavoured secretly in the night to join Ophellias. Their design was discovered, and they were cruelly massacred. The popular party, on the other hand, rather than surrender their liberties to Ophellias and their fellow citizens who accompanied him, resolved to make peace with Thimbron, whom they had recently opposed with obstinate valour; and zealously aided him, in resisting the

¹⁰⁶ Diodor. *ibid*.

new and more formidable invasion from Egypt. But their united strength was crushed by the powerful armament which Ptolemy had sent against them. Thimbron's army was destroyed, and himself made prisoner. Cyrene was besieged, taken, and garrisoned; the subordinate cities in the confederacy shared the same fate ¹⁰⁷.

Such was the termination of the Greek commonwealths in Africa which had defied the ferocity of the Libyans, resisted the more disciplined valour of Carthage, and repelled the strength of Egypt under her ancient kings. But as the submission of the Cyrenaica was reluctant we shall see that country in the sequel frequently the scene of rebellion. It remained, however, for upwards of two centuries an appendage to the Greek kingdom in Egypt; and was governed, for the most part, by sons or younger brothers of the Ptolemies. Apion, its last *viceroy*, son to the Seventh Ptolemy, amidst the civil wars in Egypt assumed independent sovereignty; and, ninety-seven years before Christ, bequeathed his usurped kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans ¹⁰⁸, by whom it was conjoined, about thirty years afterwards, with the neighbouring isle of Crete in the form of a province ¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁷ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 21. and Strabo, l. xvii. p. 830.

¹⁰⁸ Appian Mithridat. cap. 121.

¹⁰⁹ Plutarch in Lucull.

HISTORY OF THE WORLD,

CHAPTER IV.

Ptolemy declines the Protectorship. Funeral Procession of Alexander. Aridaeus and Python Protectors. Sedition excited by Euridice. Resignation of the Protectors. Antipater sole Regent. Abandonment of Alexander's great Undertakings. New Division of the Provinces. Antigonos sent against Eumenes. War in Pisidia. Ptolemy conquers Syria. Death and Character of Antipater. Polysperchon Regent. Opposition of Cassander. His Intrigues with Antigonos. The Regent endangered on all Sides. He employs Eumenes against Antigonos. Recalls Olympias from Epirus. Issues an Edict for restoring Democracy throughout Greece. Phocion's Accusation and Execution. Battle of Byzantium. Athens surrenders to Cassander. Is governed by Demetrius Phalereus. Murder of Arrhidæus and Euridice. Trial and Execution of Olympias. Cassander rebuilds Thebes.

CHAP. IV.

Ptolemy
gains the
army of
Perdiccas.
Olymp.
cxiv. 3.—
B. C. 322.

THE conquest of Cyrene, through his general Ophellas, was but a prelude to the glory which Ptolemy gained in person, by his skilful defence of Egypt against Perdiccas, commanding the royal army of Alexander, till then unfoiled in any combat. The disasters of that army in the neighbourhood of Memphis, occasioned, as we have shown, sedition among the soldiers, and a conspiracy of the officers, which ended in the murder of Perdiccas. Of this emergency Ptolemy availed himself with equal dexterity and boldness. Upon the day following his adversary's death, he came unguarded to the hostile camp, addressed the soldiers as countrymen and old companions in arms, embraced affectionately their commanders as his dearest personal friends. His camels and wagons then made their appearance, loaded with all sorts of necessaries for men, who, having undergone incredible hardships, were invited to a peaceful entertainment instead of being challenged to a new battle¹. By this pleasing

¹ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 36. and Arrian apud Phot. p. 221.

transition they were filled with an enthusiasm of gratitude. They saw no motive in Ptolemy but a concern for their happiness. Neither Python nor Seleucus, who were present, nor Antipater and Antigonus, who were shortly expected, nor any other of their admired commanders, could bear a competition in their affections with the brave and generous satrap of Egypt. Through the admiring acclamations of the multitude, he was encouraged to assume the envied title of protector of the kings and of the empire. But he prudently declined an insecure and anxious office, which must have withdrawn him from the government of his flourishing province; recommending however to this high dignity, a friend and benefactor, who, a few months before Perdiccas' hostile invasion, had marched to Egypt on a very different errand.

CHAP.

IV.

He refuses
the protec-
torship,
and recom-
mends
Arideus.

By the same assembly which fixed the regency, and regulated the succession, the funeral honours of Alexander were intrusted to Arideus², an officer in high credit with the phalanx, who employed nearly two years in preparations for this august solemnity. To convey the embalmed remains of the king from his palace in Babylon, to the temple of Jupiter Hammon, where he had expressed a desire to be interred, Arideus had provided a colossal chariot thirty eight feet high, fourteen in breadth, and twenty two in length, drawn on four wheels, by sixty four mules of conspicuous beauty; and uniting in its decorations and design, the rich magnificence of the East, with the taste of Ionia, and the ingenuity of Athens. The golden canopy breathing precious perfumes, the golden throne supporting the arms of Alexander, and the burnished gold which composed its resplendent peristyle, formed but vulgar ornaments in a pageant variegated with oriental gems, profusely studding even the collars of the

Merit of
the latter,
in conduct-
ing the fa-
neral
procession
of Alexan-
der.

² From similarity of name, this general is confounded with king *Arrhideus*, for so the name is uniformly written by Plutarch in *Alexander*. Arrian and Diodorus. The Latin writers, Curtius and Justin,

write the king's name *Arideus*, making it the same with the general's, which has caused the very general error of uniting into one person two men of most dissimilar characters.

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mules. Painting and sculpture, arts highly indebted to the discerning munificence of Alexander, outshone the rubies of Asia, while they represented, with impressive energy, the unrivalled series of his victories; and the perfection of more useful arts which he had so zealously encouraged, was displayed in the gorgeous vehicle³ itself, whose suspension on a flexible spring, that humoured every inequality of surface, so as to retain the foliated diadem crowning the canopy, in the same horizontal position, will be more readily admired than imitated or even explained by our most skilful machinists⁴. By whatever means the exact equilibrium was preserved, and sixty four mules were made to act in concert upon such an enormous weight, this moving mausoleum was safely transported nine hundred miles from Babylon to Memphis, and thence to Alexandria⁵.

Why Alexander's successors disobeyed his last will concerning his burial.

In disobeying Alexander's injunctions for burying him in the temple of Hammon, his successors were unanimous; and this seeming disregard to his last will, was really more respectful than would have been the most implicit submission to it. Shortly after his demise a prophecy was circulated and believed, that the country which received his remains, should surpass all other kingdoms of the earth in splendour and prosperity⁶. Each provincial governor wished to become the depositary of so valuable a treasure; while Perdikkas, himself a native of Pella, and who hoped soon to reign in that capital, insisted with much vehemence that the bones of Alexander ought to repose near those of his fathers in Macedon. But Aridæus who had been intrusted with a body of troops to escort the funeral convoy, persevered inflexibly in his duty, and was proceeding through Syria in his way to Hammon,

³ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 26—28. and Arrian apud Phot. p. 220.

⁴ Such is the opinion of Count Caylus, who, in the xxxvi. vol. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, has given the plan, elevation, and section of this wonderful car. His ingenious disserta-

tion is disgraced by the error of confounding Aridæus, an enterprising officer, its contriver and conductor, with king Arrhidæus, the feeble minded brother of Alexander.

⁵ Pausanias Attic. c. 6, 7.

⁶ Elian, V. H. l. xii. s. 64.

when he was respectfully met by Ptolemy, whose intreaties proved more effectual than all the threats of his rivals⁷; and prevailed with the conductor of the procession, to make Memphis, and not Hammon, his goal.

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IV.

From Memphis, the precious relicts of the king were shortly transported to the new Egyptian capital; there Alexander was worshipped in a lofty temple, long bearing his name, with such ceremonies and sacrifices, as the superstition of Greece had appropriated to departed heroes in the cities which they had founded⁸. The consecrated grove surrounding the temple was distinguished by games and festivals of peculiar magnificence. Allured by these favourite entertainments, by the commercial advantages of the city and country, above all, by the perfect security enjoyed under Ptolemy's administration, multitudes of new inhabitants resorted from all quarters to Egypt. Alexandria became the seat of industry and wealth, of ingenuity and learning. Instead of a provincial city, it gradually assumed the appearance of an imperial metropolis; and Egypt eventually derived from the policy of Ptolemy Soter, and the concurrence of Aridaeus in his views, more substantial benefits than could have accrued to that kingdom from a long series of triumphs⁹.

Important
consequences
of his
interment
at Alexan-
dria.

To requite a favour, whose value the sagacity of Ptolemy enabled him duly to appreciate, he recommended Aridaeus, together with Python, who had the principal share in the ruin of Perdiccas, as joint protectors of the empire. The soldiers provisionally ratified this nomination until the arrival of Antipater¹⁰; and the persons thus exalted to the highest situations in the state and army, listened only to the suggestions of ambition, and accepted with eager delight the dangerous dignities conferred on them.

Python
joined with
Aridæus in
the protec-
torship.

⁷ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 28. and Arrian. ibid.

Chrysostom Orat. l. xxxiii. p. 408.

⁸ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 28.

⁹ Idem l. xx. s. 102. Conf. Dio.

¹⁰ Arrian, p. 221.

CHAP.
IV.

Violent
proceed-
ings of the
army upon
learning
the death
of Crate-
rus.
Olymp.
cxiv. 3. B.
C. 322.

Meanwhile, news reached the camp, that Eumenes had gained a great victory in Lesser Asia; and, that Craterus, his ablest antagonist was slain. Had this intelligence arrived two days sooner, it would have had a tendency to disarm the conspirators against Perdiccas. The effect which it now produced, was only to exasperate the soldiers against the abettors of that tyrant. All his friends within their reach suffered instant death¹¹; not excepting his sister Atalanta, wife to Attalus, who commanded his fleet.

The Mace-
donian
fleet, taken
or destroy-
ed by the
Rhodians.

Attalus upon learning the sad amount of public and private calamity, sailed from Pelusium to Tyre. From thence he continued his voyage to the coast of Caria, purposing to wrest that province from Asander, the boldest enemy of Perdiccas's party in Lesser Asia; but in a sea-fight with the new republic of the Rhodians, he was so fatally defeated¹², that the great fleet laboriously equipped by Alexander, on the coasts of the Asiatic peninsula and Syria, thenceforward disappears from history. Demaratus, a Rhodian, commanded in this naval engagement, which secured the newly recovered liberty of his country, and thereby laid the foundation of its future glory¹³.

The autho-
rity of the
protectors
set at de-
fiance by
Euridice.
—Her cha-
racter and
motives.

Meanwhile, the army under Python and Aridæus marched from Egypt towards Syria, in order to carry into execution a hasty military decree, passed against the adherents of Perdiccas; fifty of whom had been specified by name. At the head of the proscribed, were Eumenes and Alcetas; the former, since his victory over Craterus, commanding the finest provinces of Lesser Asia; the latter, brother to Perdiccas, and by his dexterity in gaining the Pisidian mountaineers, holding an unbounded authority over the rougher parts of that peninsula. The Macedonians had not proceeded far on their march when the protectors discovered, that besides the public delinquents whom they must first vanquish before they could punish them, other dangerous foes to their authority lurked in the bosom of the army itself. In the debate

¹¹ Plutarch in Eumenes, and Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 37.

¹² Arrian, p. 226. Photius has probably extracted imperfectly,

since the words are only *Επαιτες*: *αποκρουσθησαν*.

¹³ Arrian, *ibid*.

concerning Alexander's succession, Python had warmly opposed the partisans of Arrhidæus; and when that prince was declared king, had boldly expressed his indignation, "that in seeking an heir to the crown, the *family* of Alexander should have been preferred to his virtues ¹⁴. Neither the opposition itself, nor this contumelious expression with which it was accompanied, could ruffle the unfeeling serenity of king Arrhidæus; but the insult sank deep into the mind of Euridice, whose character was directly the reverse of her husband's. While Perdicas held the regency, her mutinous spirit had been overawed; but now, that an inferior man, and the object of her personal resentment, exercised that preeminent function, she made every exertion to lessen his power, and disturb his government. Through the popular arts with which she well knew how to operate on the rude military mind, Python, and his colleague Aridæus, saw their authority fast declining with the army. They complained, remonstrated, and bitterly reproved the indecorous interference of a woman in matters, by the consent of all nations exclusively appropriated to the management of men. But in the various altercations respecting pay, preferment, and other military objects, the opinion of Euridice was still a law with the troops.

The pride of Python and Aridæus could no longer brook such accumulation of disgrace; and whether they really proposed to resign the name of an office, of which another exercised the whole power; or whether they hoped, by a striking solemnity to recal the soldiers to a sense of duty, they came to the extraordinary resolution of publicly abdicating the regency ¹⁵. This ceremony was performed at Trisparadisus, a town in Upper Syria ¹⁶: such was the influence of the queen, that it passed without exciting in the army either repentance or regret; and wonderful to relate, the soldiers of Alexander

CHAP.
IV.

¹⁴ Curtius, l. x. c. 7.

¹⁵ Arrian and Diodorus.

¹⁶ Τῶν ἀνω Παράδων, Syria, beyond

the Orontes, extending towards Cilicia. The town is called Paradisus

by Ptolemy, v. 15. and Pliny, v. 23.

In consequence of their resignation Alexander's army commanded by a woman.

CHAP. were commanded by a woman, when Antipater, by hasty
IV. marches, reached the royal camp.

Sedition on
the Arrival
of Antipa-
ter.

That wary general had not advanced with sufficient celerity to assist Ptolemy against Perdiccas. It may indeed be suspected, that a man grown old, amidst the refinements of war and policy, was not displeased to see his rivals exhausting each other by mutual hostilities, while he himself stood aloof ready to profit by their misfortunes. Being informed by his emissaries, how deeply he was concerned in the late transactions at Trisparadisus, he hastened to that place, hoping that his authority with the army would compose all dissensions: But instead of a calm, his arrival produced a new and more dangerous storm. Notwithstanding the reverence in which he was held, by the officers and most of the cavalry, Euridice remained paramount with the veteran phalanx of Alexander, and the silver shielded *hypaspists*, ready and licentious instruments in every tumult. She was heard with patience, while she opposed the establishment of any regency: and maintained, what her blindest partisans well knew that she did not believe, the competency of her husband

His danger. Arrhidæus, to manage the state and army; while Antipater in endeavouring to appease the sedition, and overawe her boldness, narrowly escaped falling a victim to the enraged soldiery. He was saved through the intrepidity of Antigonus and Seleucus, who hastening through the ranks in their resplendent armour, and haranguing the men on subjects the most interesting to their passions, afforded an opportunity for Antipater to escape across a bridge, separating the main army from the division with which he had recently joined it¹⁷.

Repentance of the
soldiers
who call
him to the
regency.

The disorder of the troops thus carried to the utmost extreme, naturally cured itself. When they reflected that they had nearly imbrued their hands in the blood of an aged and able commander, who, of all men living, was the best quali-

¹⁷ Arrian, p. 222. Polyznus, l. ter to Antigonus only.
iv. c. 6. ascribes the safety of Antipa-

fed to conduct them victoriously to their longed for country, they felt compunction at their own proceedings, and joined with men of sounder minds, in recalling Antipater to the supreme command. He obeyed the general summons; and in publicly assuming his office, exposed the character and views of Euridice in so odious a light, that, highminded as she was, fear silenced her other passions, and removed her farther opposition¹⁸.

CHAP.
IV.

Olymp.
cxiv. 3.—
B. C. 322.

The elevation of Antipater to the regency, afforded a fairer prospect of happiness than the empire had hitherto enjoyed. The unblemished dignity of his character, and his long and prosperous exercise of delegated power in Macedon promised an administration equally prudent and vigorous; unclogged by competition, undisturbed by the intrigues of envy. Yet, besides his advanced age, for he was now in his seventy-seventh year¹⁹, various circumstances naturally resulting from his connexions and habits, tended to blast the public hope. His contest with Eumenes about the government of the city of Cardia, in the Thracian Chersonesus, produced an irreconcilable enmity with the person best qualified to second his views when useful, or to correct them when pernicious. Eumenes, who was now master of the finest provinces of Lesser Asia, was not of a disposition tamely to resign them to the abettor of his own domestic foes, the little tyrants of Cardia, and who had opposed both his father and himself in their zeal for trecting that state into a commonwealth²⁰. As the lieutenant and representative of the murdered Perdiccas, Eumenes prepared to set Antipater at defiance; and thus the party disputes, in the little Greek city of Cardia, embroiled the dissensions in a great empire, and rendered them incurable.

Circumstances unfavourable to his administration—his old variance with Eumenes.

Another unfavourable circumstance disqualifying Antipater for the regency, was his uninterrupted residence in Europe during a long life. He was unacquainted with the affairs

His advanced age and uninterrupted residence in Europe.

¹⁸ Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 38, 39. and Arrian, p. 221.

¹⁹ Suidas voc. Antipater.
²⁰ Plutarch in Eumen.

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of Asia, which, in his mind occupied but a dark and narrow place; while Greece and Macedon, which he had long prosperously governed, shone with a magnified splendour far beyond their comparative importance. Alexander's great projects for improving the central provinces of Asia, for adorning and enriching Babylon the natural seat of empire, and for harmonizing into one social and commercial system the greatest nations of the earth; all these designs were abandoned; the new harbours which he was constructing, the new routes for traffic which he was opening, the new and admirable institutions through which in the space of a few years he had disciplined into manhood the most effeminate of slaves, and reclaimed into humanity the most intractable of barbarians. Antipater was contented with appointing governors for the Asiatic provinces; his narrow span of life admitted not of remote plans of melioration; he was solicitous chiefly, that the revenues of Asia should be carefully collected, and regularly transmitted to Macedon; in which country, the object of his affections, because the scene of his glory, he purposed to spend the remainder of his days, and from thence, in the name of the kings, to issue his imperial mandates for the government of the eastern world.

Alexander's great plans abandoned.

New distribution of the provinces by Antipater.

With these views, he proceeded at Trisparadissus to make a new settlement of the empire. The feeble Arrhidæus, and Alexander's posthumous son by Roxana, a child three years old, were again declared its sole legitimate heirs. The governments of the several provinces were continued in the officers actually holding them; only Nicanor was substituted to the proscribed Eumenes in the satrapy of Cappadocia. But Eumenes was master of that satrapy, and many districts in its neighbourhood, from which he had expelled his enemies; he appears also to have defeated and destroyed Menander and Philotas, respectively satraps of Lydia and Cilicia; the former of whom, as above related, had first apprised Antipater of the projected marriage of Perdiccas with Cleopatra; and the latter, as we have seen more recently, had

allowed an unobstructed march to the European army which came to assist Ptolemy, through the Cilician passes. New governors were therefore to be appointed for those empty provinces; Philoxenus was named for Cilicia; and Lydia, including Ephesus and other Greek seaports on its coast, was bestowed on Clytus, who had successfully commanded the Macedonian fleet during the Lamian war. Seleucus, whose merit had recently been signalized in appeasing the military tumult, was rewarded with the vacant satrapy of Babylonia, the object of eager desire to that young and ambitious chief, who, of all Alexander's lieutenants, best understood the great views of his master. In this distribution of the provinces, it was not to be expected that the interests of the late protectors should be forgotten. Python to whom Media formerly was assigned, had been hitherto prevented by various important employments from taking possession of his government. A Mede named Atropates had rendered himself powerful in his native country²¹; of which he was to be dispossessed, only by an armed force. Python was intrusted with a sufficient detachment for this purpose; but Atropates still maintained possession of the northern and mountainous province; called, from him Media Atropatena; and transmitted it down, as we shall see hereafter, to a long line of descendants. Aridaeus, Python's colleague in the protectorship, was substituted to the government of Hellespontian Phrygia, vacant by the death of Leonnatus in the Lamian war²².

After thus distributing the provinces, Antipater appointed guardians of the treasuries in various strong-holds of the empire, and regulated the proportions of revenue necessary for supporting the dignity of the imperial court, and for maintaining the great controlling army, one part of which was to accompany the persons of the kings, and another to be ready on all occasions to defend the safety of their dominions, and uphold the integrity of the empire. To procure

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IV.

²¹ Arrian Exped. Alexand. l. iv. c. 18.

²² Arrian apud Phot. p. 25. and Diodor. l. xviii. s. 39.

Guards appointed for the royal treasuries.

CHAP. money for immediate exigencies, a strong detachment was
IV. commissioned to transport part of the treasures in the fortress
of Susa to Lower Asia. This trust was committed to Antig-
enes, who had done good service in the removal of Perdica-
cas; and who commanded three thousand silver-shielded
hypaspists; the most audacious among the late mutineers,
of whom Antipater was well pleased to purge the army²³.

Antipater's
want of dis-
cernment
in appoint-
ing his lieutenants.—
Causes
thereof.

There was nothing amiss in these arrangements; but it
still remained to appoint a general for suppressing Eumenes
and other enemies to the empire; in naming to which office,
Antipater was greatly wanting in the discernment of charac-
ters. His defect in this particular may be ascribed to the
indolence of age, the unwillingness to alter opinions once
formed, and the propensity to view men as they were, when
he first examined and appreciated them, rather than such as
they had become, through a change of circumstances and of
habits. At fourscore, the mind's eye is shut to many avenues
of information, which might dart on it new light: through the
infirmities of the body, that variety of intercourse is inter-
cepted, and those precious opportunities withheld, through
which, chiefly, the real passions of men are revealed in un-
guarded moments; and the suspicious severity of age is not
calculated to invite from others those discoveries which it is
prevented from making by its own observation. In the former
part of his life, Antipater had been noted for vigilance and
discernment; but in his late removal from Macedon, he had
raised to the administration of that kingdom the incapacity and
cruelty of Polysperchon; and in appointing a general of the
empire in Asia²⁴, he was not less blind to the disloyal ambi-
tion of Antigonus. His own son, however, Cassander, a youth
already distinguished by abilities equal to vast designs, was
set over the *equestrian companions*²⁵; a commission which,

²³ Id. *ibid.* p. 25.

²⁴ Appian *Syriac.* c. 53. calls An-

tigonus *ἐπισκοπος τῆς ὅλης Ἀσίας*.

²⁵ Arrian and Diodorus *ubi supra*

according to the arrangements of Alexander above explained, made him second in command. Having thus adjusted the great affairs of the empire, Antipater joined part of the Asiatic army to the forces which he had conducted from Macedon, and committed the remainder of it to Antigonus that he might punish public enemies. In proceeding towards the Grecian sea, expedition was unnecessary. The Macedonian dominions in Europe remained in a state of tranquillity. The Athenians were overawed by the wisdom of Phocion, and the terror of a foreign garrison: the Etolians had been repeatedly defeated in battle; and Menon, the brave Thessalian, an implacable enemy to the Macedonians, had perished obscurely amidst the domestic broils of his country. His daughter, Phthia, was married to Æacidas king of Epirus, and the offspring of this marriage, the renowned Pyrrhus, was to rival the merit, and far eclipse the fame, of his grandfather Menon.

CHAP.
IV.

Antipater
marches
homeward,
sending
Antigonus
to reduce
Eumenes.

In marching through the peninsula, Antipater detached a body of troops to enable Asander, governor of Caria, to drive the rebels from Pisidia. This undertaking was unsuccessful; for Alcetas and Attalus, partisans, as we have seen, of Perdiccas, had been joined by many Macedonians of distinction, dissatisfied with the new settlement of the empire. In consequence of a victory over Asander, these malcontents hoped to maintain their strong-holds in mount Taurus until a happier turn of affairs, without condescending to serve under Eumenes, long the object of their envy. Eumenes, who, besides a large body of well-exercised cavalry, commanded twenty thousand infantry, wished by all means to soothe his personal enemies, who were united with him in one great public interest. Could he have joined their forces to his own, he would have augmented his army by one half its actual number; and would have thus been in a condition to oppose Antigonus in the field. From confidence in his excellent cavalry, he had thoughts of fighting Antipater as he marched through the plain of Sardes. But his design was extremely displeasing

Why Eumenes prevented by Cleopatra from fighting Antipater.

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IV.

to Cleopatra, then resident in the Lydian capital. That princess feared that she had already done too much to provoke the ruling powers. If the battle was fought at Sarties, she would be suspected of occasioning it. She therefore intreated Eumenes to remove from her neighbourhood²⁶; and Eumenes showed complaisance to the sister of his revered master. When Antipater shortly afterwards arrived at Sardes, he severely reprimanded Cleopatra for still adhering to the ruined cause of desperate rebels. In her zeal to refute the accusation, many high words passed between them in presence of the army. A reconciliation, however, was effected before the protector left Sardes²⁷.

Antigonus?
treacher-
ous de-
signs,

Meanwhile Eumenes, after reiterated attempts to gain the cooperation of the Pisidian army, all of which were rendered abortive through the pride and obstinacy of its leaders²⁸, removed to his proper province of Cappadocia, which the avocations of his antagonists allowed time for placing in a fit posture of defence. It might be expected that Antigonus, in whom crafty selfishness was a conspicuous quality, would not be forward in taking measures for speedily terminating a war, the continuance of which secured that of his own power. By the same authority which constituted him general, he had been reinstated in his government of Phrygia, to which the smaller districts of Lycia and Pamphilia were annexed. The arrangements necessary in these provinces afforded specious pretences for delay. Antigonus farther protracted the time on the plea of winter quarters during a hard season, thinking that should operations be retarded until Antipater sailed for Europe, his own ambition would enjoy a fairer opportunity of profiting by military success. During this interval, his endeavours for gaining the affections of the troops, and even for withdrawing their allegiance from the kings and the protector to fix it on himself personally,

discovered
by Cassan-
der.

²⁶ Arrian, p. 225. Conf. Plutarch in Eumen.

²⁷ Id. *ibid*.

²⁸ Plutarch in Eumen.

escaped not the penetrating eye of Cassander second in command. On pretence of taking leave of his father before he crossed the Hellespont, Cassander hastened to acquaint him, that Antigonus was totally unworthy of the confidence reposed in him. Antipater was unwilling to change his opinion hastily, or to alter the arrangements that he had made. He therefore allowed time for Antigonus' justification²⁹; of which delay the latter, who, according to the ancient proverb, knew better than any man how to eke out the lion's with the fox's skin³⁰, availed himself to remove many unfavourable suspicions by his assumed moderation and affected complaisance. Yet Antipater required that part of their respective armies should be exchanged. Antigonus, accordingly, received eight thousand five hundred Macedonian infantry and an equal number of foreign cavalry; he likewise received his proportion of an hundred and forty elephants³¹. With the remainder of the forces, and the persons of the kings, Antipater crossed the Hellespont, not without experiencing at Abydus a new mutiny of the veterans, clamorous for arrears and donatives³². They followed, however, their general to Sestos, carrying with them seventy elephants; with part of which Pyrrhus, as we shall see hereafter, combated the Romans. They are the first of those warlike animals noticed in the history of Europe, if we reject the fabulous procession of Bacchus drawn in triumph by Indian elephants to Boeotian Thebes³³.

Antipater
returns to
Macedon.—Ele-
phants first
brought to
Europe.

Antipater had no sooner taken his departure, than Antigonus finding the career for his own ambition thereby unobstructed, took the field against Eumenes in Cappadocia. Without trusting to the superiority of his troops in quality still more than in number, he had employed means for seducing Apollonides commanding the enemy's cavalry, and other officers who dreaded to commit their new levies with

Eumenes
defeated by
Antigonus

²⁹ Arrian, p. 225.

³⁰ Plutarch in Lysand.

³¹ Arrian, p. 225.

³² Id. *ibid.*

³³ Diodor. l. iv. s. 3.

CHAP. the veteran bands of Macedon. In a decisive battle, the scene
IV. of which is not specified, Eumenes was deserted by those

contrives
however to
enter his
slain.

traitors. After a great slaughter, his army was put to flight; and Antigonus in hopes of seizing the person of his adversary, was carried in the pursuit to a wide distance from the field. Eumenes, defeated but not disheartened, availed himself of this circumstance to revisit by a secret path the scene of action, and to raise two funeral piles, of which the materials were collected from neighbouring villages, built entirely of wood. On these lofty pyres, consecrated with due form, he burnt the remains of his slain companions; an exploit which from the superstitious veneration then prevalent for the manes of the dead, wonderfully delighted his friends, while it astonished and terrified his enemies³⁴.

His dexte-
rity in
eluding the
enemy.

Having lost above eight thousand men in battle, he was unable again to face Antigonus in the field. But the neighbouring intricacies of Taurus, with which he was well acquainted, gave him an opportunity of eluding, and sometimes harassing, his pursuers. In a short time, however, he discovered that as his troops were too few for combat, so they were too numerous for flight. On one occasion, he is said to have deprived them of an opportunity of plundering Antigonus' baggage, which would have rendered them still more unwieldy, by conveying secret intelligence to the officer who escorted it. At length he came to the resolution of disbanding the greater part of his forces, fixing a place of rendezvous, where, at a more favourable crisis, they might again repair to his standard; and with a body of six hundred horse, unalterably devoted to his cause, threw himself into the strong fortreas of Nora³⁵. Antipater in the extremity of old age had fallen sick immediately upon his return to Macedon³⁶. Should his death speedily ensue, Eumenes might expect deliverance from the resentment that persecuted him.

³⁴ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 40. and Plutarch in Eumen.

³⁵ Plutarch, *ibid*.

³⁶ Suidas voc. Antipater.

The fortress of Nora, judiciously chosen for his retreat, was situate on the western frontier of Cappadocia, between two arms of the river Halys, and between two branches of Taurus, the northern of which is so lofty that it surveys at once the Euxine and Mediterranean seas. The whole of the fortified inclosure occupied two furlongs in circuit, with sides exceedingly steep, containing corn, wood, and water; and its defences had been constructed with such solidity by the Cappadocian kings, that their ruins are still discernible at a place called Bour; art thus conspiring with nature to render Nora impregnable ³⁷.

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IV.

Shuts himself up in Nora.— That fortress described.

Antigonus blocked up the place with walls and ditches, but was less solicitous about taking it, than anxious to gain Eumenes for his friend. With such a coadjutor, he would have been in a condition to throw off the mask, and not only to set Antipater at defiance, but every succeeding authority that might rise up in the empire. For attaining ends so desirable, he exhausted all those winning arts, through which, not less than by his great military talents, he had attained his actual elevation. Eumenes, after taking due precautions for the safety of his person, consented to an interview. Antigonus would probably have granted to him the terms which he demanded, reparation for his pecuniary losses, and the restitution of his provinces; had not Eumenes declared, that while possessed of his sword, he never would acknowledge any superior, except in the family of Alexander. This bold sentiment terminated the conference: Antigonus only rejoining, that the conditions of the surrender of Nora must be referred to Antipater. Eumenes was then remitted to his fortress, which was again subjected to blockade ³⁸.

Antigonus attempts to gain him to his treacherous design.

Immediately after this transaction, Antigonus proceeded to assail the public enemies in Pisidia. His celerity was now as conspicuous, as his tardiness had been blamable, before

Antigonus defeats the rebels in Pisidia.— His extra-

³⁷ Conf. Strabo, l. xii. p. 811. in Eumen.
Diodor. l. xviii. s. 41. and Plutarch

³⁸ Diodorus and Plutarch, *ibid*.

CHAP.
IV.
ordinary
march thi-
ther.

the return of Antipater to Macedonia. In seven days and nights, he performed a march of two thousand and five hundred stadia, amounting to nearly thirty-three British miles daily, which was, and still continues, to be, the usual rate of Asiatic couriers. But the Greeks, it must be observed, were not loaded with their heavy armour, except on the near vicinity of an enemy³⁹; and the rapidity of Antigonus's march is not inconsistent with experience in as far as two great divisions of his force are concerned, the cavalry and the elephants. By the suddenness of his invasion, he surprised and seized the various passes in Pisidia, through which the enemy might have eluded pursuit, and protracted the war. Alcetas with his associates were forced to a decisive battle at Creton. They were completely defeated. Attalus, Docimus, and Laomedon governor of Syria, who had joined them for a reason that will presently be explained, were made prisoners. Most of the troops laid down their arms, received quarter, and reinforced the conqueror⁴⁰.

Death of
Alcetas,
Perdiccas'
brother.—
Singular af-
fection
shown to
him by the
Pisidians.

Of all the generals Alcetas alone escaped, through the activity of his Pisidian mountaineers, whom as above related, he had attached unalterably to his person by kind offices. Through their zealous assistance he reached Termessus, the principal city in Pisidia, near the northern frontier of Lycia. Antigonus pursued him thither, assaulted the place, and so much intimidated the magistrates and more aged citizens, that they entered into a secret agreement for betraying to him his adversary. They were reduced to this base measure, because the young and warlike portion of their community was so firmly riveted in affection to Alcetas, that, as the magistrates assured Antigonus, it would be impossible for themselves to carry their design into execution, unless by a feint retreat after a feeble attack, he should decoy their young men from the city: in which case, they would avail themselves of their absence, to seize the person of Alcetas. The stratagem

³⁹ This is expressed by Arrian when he says the army was *τιταγμ-
νοι ὡς ἱππὶ μάχῃ*, and Curtius, Arma

quæ in sarcinis antea ferebantur, l
v. c. ii.

⁴⁰ Polyæn. l. iv. c. 6.

succeeded partially; for Alcetas avoided captivity by a voluntary death. Antigonus disgracefully insulted the remains of his countryman and fellow soldier. For this brutality towards their deceased friend, the Pisidians of Termessus vowed against him eternal vengeance; and after the departure of his invading army, celebrated Alcetas' obsequies with solemn pomp, scarcely restraining themselves, in revenge for the baseness of their magistrates, from swelling the magnificence of his funeral pile by the conflagration of their own city⁴¹. Such was the affectionate fidelity of the Termessians, worthy of their ancestors the renowned Solymi, whom Homer had anciently celebrated as the bravest of men⁴².

Antigonus had hardly finished the Pisidian war, when he received intelligence of the conquest of Syria by Ptolemy, and of Antipater's death: events respectively calculated to inflame his rivalry, and to swell his hopes. Ptolemy, who had at first confined his sober views to the possession of Egypt, had been encouraged by favourable circumstances to make the conquest of Cyrene. Syria in its extensive sense, comprehending Palæstine and Phœnicia, offered him a far more tempting prize. Not to mention the near neighbourhood, the fertility, the populousness, and other general advantages of these provinces, Phœnicia still abounded with mariners and well-constructed harbours; the mountains of Palestine were replenished with useful metals, particularly iron; and Syria Proper, especially the lofty ridges of Libanus and Antilibanus overhanging intricate vales and irriguous plains, produced in great plenty the finest timber. Ptolemy, who had early discerned the channels through which wealth was destined to flow into his country, and begun earnestly to prepare a great naval force, could not fail to cast wishful eyes on the harbours of Phœnicia, and to view with equal avidity the

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IV.

Conquest
of Syria by
Ptolemy.
—His
motives to
that under-
taking.
Olymp.
exiv. 3. B.
C. 322.

⁴¹ Diodor. l. xvii. s. 47, 48.

Conf. Strabo, p. 631. and 666.

⁴² Homer, Il. l. vi: v. 184. & seq

CHAP. profusion of iron and timber in Palæstine and Syria, articles
IV. peculiarly essential to his plan, and of which his own satrapy of Egypt was altogether destitute. Laomedon, a native of Mytelene in the isle of Lesbos, commanded in Syria, by the appointment of Antipater and the great controlling army. But the forces with which he had been intrusted for defence were so inconsiderable, that Ptolemy endeavoured to gain him without a struggle to his views. Laomedon rejected rewards and promotions from a man whom he regarded as his equal. He fought, was defeated, and made prisoner. Syria Proper and Phenicia submitted to the conqueror⁴³.

The Jews
alone man-
fully resist
—are in-
dulgent-
ly treated.

But amidst the unwarlike tameness of their neighbours, the natives of Palæstine restrained by their oath recently tendered to Laomedon, manfully resisted the troops which Ptolemy sent against them. He entered their country with a large reinforcement; made an easy conquest of several subordinate towns, but besieged Jerusalem unsuccessfully, till observing the veneration of its inhabitants for the seventh day of the week, he availed himself of this circumstance to assault and take the place on the sabbath. To break the vigour of a nation whose obstinate bravery and love of independence had often been experienced by the conquerors of the East, he carried with him above an hundred thousand Jewish captives into Egypt; consisting chiefly of the young and warlike, and of all who were likely to prove dangerous either by their counsels or exertions. The inferior classes of men were left to cultivate their fields and vineyards; and were protected in their useful labours without enduring any oppressive imposts. Notwithstanding the great proportion of the people whom he transported to Egypt, Ptolemy's treatment of the Jews was celebrated for its clemency. The nation flourished in peace at home; and their expatriated countrymen, by their virtuous and manly behaviour, especially their unwearied industry and inviolable fidelity, gained such credit with their

Their high
considera-
tion in
Egypt.

⁴³ Appian Syriac. c. 52. and Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 43.

new master, that he promoted them to civil offices of the highest trust, or committed to their defence, the most important strong-holds in his dominions⁴⁴.

CHAP.
IV.

Antigonus, if he was not previously informed of Ptolemy's ^{Death of} new conquest, must have learned it from the unfortunate ^{Antipater.} Laomedon, who escaped confinement in Egypt, only, as ^{Olymp.} above related, to become Antigonus' prisoner in Pisidia⁴⁵. ^{oxv. 2.—B. C. 319.}

About the same time he received intelligence of a different complexion, from his agent and flatterer Aristodemus the Milesian; who hastened with a mercenary diligence to announce the death of Antipater, and the accession of the unworthy Polysperchon to the regency. To a man who wished to raise his own greatness on the ruins of established authority, the intelligence was important, and peculiarly seasonable amidst his double triumph over Eumenes and Alcetas, at the two extremities of the Asiatic peninsula: that invaluable country, through the resources of which Antigonus already hoped to attain the empire of all Asia. ^{Hopes with which that event inspired Antigonus.}

While Antipater lived, the weight of his name was calculated to repress such towering hopes. Philip used to say that he could always sleep soundly, when he knew that Antipater waked; and Alexander marked his character with equal brevity, when, to one who observed, that of all his generals, Antipater alone never wore purple, he replied, "Antipater is all purple within⁴⁶!" The more he was adorned with the virtues of royalty the less he appeared solicitous about its external trappings. Having long acted the second part, under the two greatest monarchs in the world, and being called by public admiration to govern the empire in name of their successors, he had nearly reached his eightieth year in the steady ^{Character of Antipater.}

⁴⁴ Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. Cont. Apion. l. i. c. 22.

⁴⁵ Laomedon must by some unknown transaction have offended Antipater, otherwise he would have sought his protection, or that of his lieutenant Antigonus, instead of fly-

ing to Alcetas in Pisidia. The small body of troops with which he had been intrusted for defending so important a country as Syria, strengthens this conjecture.

⁴⁶ Plutarch, Apophth.

CHAP. performance' of complicated duties towards prince and people.
IV.

In the nomination indeed of Antigonus as his lieutenant in Asia, and of Polysperchon, as his successor in the regency, he was guilty of great and irretrievable errors. But in all preceding transactions, deep sagacity joined with indefatigable diligence, marked his conduct both as a minister and general: and amidst perpetual scenes of treason and sedition, when the uniform loyalty, and temperate dignity of this able and honest man, are contrasted with the wild extravagance and profligate enterprise of too many of his contemporaries, Antipater should seem to have casually dropped, as it were, from the disciplined regularity of some more peaceful age, into the turbulent times in which it was his lot to live. During the exercise of the highest employments, that any man in the rank of a subject ever filled, he found leisure to cultivate both letters and science. His long and intimate friendship with the philosopher, Aristotle, continued to the death of the latter, five years before his own; and of Aristotle's testament still remaining⁴⁷, he is appointed the executor; such offices to his friends not appearing to his unwearied activity, incompatible with the command of armies and government of kingdoms. He composed several now lost works of history. Those relating to his own times are the more to be regretted, because, they would doubtless, have rescued his name from that obloquy to which it has been exposed with posterity. For in future ages, Antipater was for ever to be branded as the murderer of Demosthenes, the blazing patriot, and incomparable orator. Such is the glory of letters! that this single transaction, the punishment of an eloquent rebel, whose life could only have served again to embroil the affairs of Greece, excites more popular resentment against Antipater, than his appointment of such men as Antigonus and Polysperchon to govern the most distinguished portions of Asia and Europe; and thus subjecting numerous nations to unprincipled ambition and merciless cruelty.

⁴⁷ Diogen. Laert. in Aristot.

In the worst act of Antipater's life, the recommendation of Polysperchon to the regency, there was an apparent disinterestedness, since he sought for a successor in the commonwealth, rather than in his own family. His son, Cassander, who speedily quitted his uneasy situation in Asia as second in command to Antigonus, had been employed during his father's malady in administering the government of Macedonia, and in superintending the various commonwealths of Greece, governed under the protection of garrisons, by Macedonian partisans. Cassander was only in his twenty-third year; but nature had furnished him with premature craft, and qualified him for high designs by restless ambition and indefatigable energy. He was a man peculiarly formed to inspire confidence, to gain partisans, and to produce revolutions. But being not less enterprising in love than in politics, he had successfully courted the highminded Euridice, whom, as the mistress of his own affections, he wished to render sole sovereign of the empire; not doubting that, could he procure for her the first place, she would be at no loss how to bestow the second. This intrigue, which had not escaped the notice of Antipater, could not fail greatly to incense him. He knew the pride, and had experienced the boldness of that imperious woman, whose animosity, on an occasion formerly mentioned, had put his life in danger. Her mother Cynna, and her aunt Cleopatra had both of them disturbed his government. Olympias, above all, had occasioned to him perpetual disquietude, until her involuntary removal to Epirus. From the behaviour of these Macedonian females, equally unprincipled in the gratification of their fiercer and softer passions, Antipater conceived a general prejudice against the whole sex, which he was at so little pains to conceal, that as the last injunction to his successor in the regency, he conjured him on no pretence whatever, to permit the interference of women

CHAP.
IV.Antipater
appoints
Polysper-
chon re-
gent—to
the preju-
dice of his
own son
Cassander.
Olymp.
cxv. 2. B.
C. 319.Cassan-
der's in-
trigue with
Euridice.

CHAP. in matters of government, for which they were totally dis-
IV. qualified through the imperfections both of their talents and
of their temper⁴⁸. This advice he well knew would be thrown
away on the youth of Cassander; we shall see that it was
equally disregarded by the old age of Polysperchon.

Measures
for main-
taining his
power in
Europe.

The son of Antipater, who remembered that as second in
command, he had been a mere cipher under the ambitious
Antigonus, was not likely to rest contented with a similar
condition under Polysperchon. Before the news of his
father's death had time to reach Greece, he gave orders to
Nicanor, an enterprising officer, recently gained to his inter-
est, to take the command of the Macedonians guarding the
harbour of Athens, called Munychia; and he thereby estab-
lished a new and zealous partisan, in an important strong-
hold. As the nations around him remained in perfect tran-
quillity, his presence was not wanted in the army. He
resided at his estates in the country; seemingly devoted to
hunting and other rural amusements; but much serious
business wholly engrossed his thoughts⁴⁹. His old friends
were secured; new and useful connexions were formed; and
having adjusted to his satisfaction the affairs of Greece and
Macedon, comparatively domestic concerns, he crossed the
Hellespont, on pretence of a great hunting match in Phrygia,
to solicit foreign cooperation in the designs which he medi-
tated.

He applies
to Antigo-
nus in Asia.
—Pro-
ceedings
and views
of the lat-
ter. Olymp.
cxv. 2. B.
C. 319.

Of all men, Antigonus was the last to whom it might be
expected, that Cassander would have recourse: yet, so varia-
ble are the hatreds as well as the friendships of politicians, that
Antigonus was the person from whom he asked and received
the most important aid. Upon the death of Antipater, the
fortune of his lieutenant in Asia had flowed with such a
prosperous tide, that he ventured in several instances to
betray the unwarrantable designs which occupied him. He
traversed Asia Minor, seizing fortresses, displacing govern-
ors, and raising heavy contributions⁵⁰. Asander, in Caria,

⁴⁸ Diodorus, l. xix. s. 11. ⁴⁹ Id. l. xviii. s. 49. ⁵⁰ Id. l. xviii. 51.

and Aridæus, in the Lesser Phrygia, perceived his designs, CHAP.
IV. but were unable to defeat them. They were gradually cooped up within narrow limits; while a harder fate awaited Clytus in the more important province of Lydia. He was entirely dispossessed of the country, and compelled to fly with his fleet to Polysperchon. Antigonus then took possession of Ephesus, and as four vessels sailed into its harbour with six hundred talents, part of the treasures, which, according to the above mentioned orders of Antipater, had been transported from Upper Asia, Antigonus detained this sum intended for the immediate service of the kings, saying that he stood in great need of it, for the payment of their Asiatic army⁵¹. Before these disloyal proceedings, he had made a second unsuccessful attempt for gaining the invaluable friendship of Eumenes; a man, who in his quality of stranger, was not likely ever to dispute with him the first rank; and who, by his consummate dexterity, was peculiarly well calculated for supporting another in that envied preeminence⁵².

Agreeably to their preceding arrangement, Eumenes had sent his friend Jerom of Cardia to Macedon, with the conditions demanded in return for personal submission, and the surrender of his fortress of Nora. Jerom met with nothing but reproach from Polysperchon; but on his way back to Nora, was kindly received by Antigonus, who committed to him an instrument granting to Eumenes the full extent of his demands, only requiring him to swear a sincere amity with himself. To Eumenes, who was determined never to acknowledge a superior but in the house of Alexander, a treaty of unconditional friendship with Antigonus, seemed equivalent to an oath of fealty to an usurper. When the writing was tendered to him, he therefore inserted before the word Antigonus, as often as it occurred, the names of the kings and Olympias, stipulating thereby a steady adherence to Antigonus, while that general maintained his fidelity to the royal line. Antigonus' forces which blocked up Nora, readily admitted the

⁵¹ Diodorus. l. xviii. s. 52.

⁵² Plutarch in Eumenes.

CHAP.
IV.

Eumenes' escape from Nora.

insertion; neither the officers nor men having any suspicion of their general's guilty designs. Eumenes seized the favourable moment for recovering his freedom with that of his faithful adherents. Their horses being kept in daily exercise in their stables were nimble for flight; and had already carried them beyond the reach of their enemies, when Antigonus, enraged at receiving a different instrument from that which he had tendered, sent orders to block up Nora more carefully than ever⁵³.

Succours afforded by Antigonus to Cassander.

The drift and spirit of all these transactions sufficiently convinced Cassander, that Antigonus would heartily coöperate with him in destroying the authority of the kings and Polysperchon. He received from his personal enemy thirty five galleys, and four thousand veterans; and though Antigonus granted this succour to a man whom he detested, on pretence of gratitude and respect for his deceased father, yet his real motive was to embroil the affairs of Europe, that thereby, his own career of ambition might be unobstructed in Asia. His well grounded hopes, as we shall see presently, were completely realized.

Measures adopted by Polysperchon for opposing all his enemies. Olymp. cxc. 3.—B.C. 318.

Meanwhile, Polysperchon alarmed by the defection of Antigonus in Asia, the preparations of Cassander in Greece, and the high credit of Euridice with the soldiers, which perpetually disturbed his government, even in Macedon itself, deliberated with his council about the means of resisting this threefold hostility. For opposing Antigonus, fortune seemed seasonably to have presented the fittest of all instruments. While that general betrayed the most dangerous designs, Polysperchon learned with a pleasing astonishment, that at the same crisis his folly had untied the hands of the man best qualified to thwart them. To avail himself of this error, Polysperchon wrote to Eumenes in the name of his royal masters, appointing him sole general of the army in Asia, and submitting to his absolute disposal the treasuries in Susa and Kuinda, and in other strong-holds of the East. At the same time the

He appoints Eumenes general of the empire in Asia.

⁵³ Diodor. *ibid.* et Plutarch in Eumen.

provincial governors in Asia were commanded to join his standard with their respective contingents; and should these forces prove insufficient, Polysperchon added, that he would himself conduct an army from Europe, and strenuously co-operate in a warfare to which they were all summoned by every principle of honour and of duty ⁵⁴.

To counterbalance the weight of Euridice with the army in Macedon, the council of Polysperchon could hit on no better expedient than the recal of Olympias, then residing with her brother Æacidas in Epirus. As mother to Alexander, Olympias enjoyed a degree of credit with the Macedonians; which even the abilities of Antipater had been unable to control. That illustrious viceroy, who well knew the detestable wickedness of her nature, had consulted the public safety and his own, by compelling her to live in a sort of honourable exile in Epirus; where she had been recently visited by the beautiful Roxana her daughter-in-law, together with Alexander, Ægus her grandchild, then in his fourth year, the joint heir to the empire. With these precious pledges, endeared to the Macedonians by the memory of their heroic king, Olympias prepared to return in a sort of triumph ⁵⁵ to a country which she had quitted with the deepest mortification, hoping to gratify her ambition, above all to satiate her vengeance.

Cassander's deep-rooted interest in Greece was the third and sorest evil that afflicted Polysperchon. To remedy this seemingly desperate malady, recourse was had to a still more desperate cure; it was determined to destroy in a moment that singular fabric of government which Philip's long reign had laboriously erected in that country. The decree or edict for this purpose affords a memorable instance of the plausible language, with which those intrusted with public affairs too frequently disguise their most blamable undertakings. It was written in name of the kings, "from whose ancestors,

CHAP.
IV.

Recals
Olympias
into Mace-
don.

Publishes
an edict for
reestablish-
ing democ-
racy in
Greece.

⁵⁴ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 58. Plutarch ubi supra. ⁵⁵ Id. ibid.

CHAP. Greece was said to have derived inestimable benefits. But
 IV. during the long absence of Alexander, calamities had fallen
 on that country through the misconduct of his generals and
 ministers. The design of the present edict was to redress
 former errors, to restore numerous exiles to their respective
 cities, and to reestablish in every Grecian state its heredi-
 tary form of democratic policy. In return for such invaluable
 favours, the Greeks were required collectively and indi-
 vidually to stipulate that they would never bear arms against
 the kings, or in any other manner make opposition to their
 interest." Though the intercourse by resident ambassadors
 was anciently unknown among independent states, yet amidst
 unequal confederacies, the inferior powers generally em-
 ployed delegates to attend the councils, and watch the reso-
 lutions, of the paramount republic or kingdom. In this capa-
 city certain Greeks living at Pella, received the Macedonian
 edict, to be communicated by them to their respective
 commonwealths; a writing, which, under the form of favoura-
 ble concessions, contained mandates equally cruel and per-
 fidious. Its execution was said, in the instrument itself, to
 be committed to Polysperchon, whom the Greeks were
 taught to regard as their beneficent protector, and com-
 manded implicitly to obey⁵⁶.

Calamities
 occasioned
 thereby in
 Greece.
 Olymp.
 exv. 3. B.
 C. 318.

This circular letter of the kings was no sooner diffused
 through Greece, than Polysperchon, as if he had intended to
 show how unworthily such high trust had been reposed in
 him, wrote a second epistle in his own name, advising the
 several republics to embrace the present opportunity for
 taking vengeance on the inveterate enemies of their laws
 and liberties. The counsel was not given in vain. That popu-
 lar licence, which had so long been repressed through the
 authority of Macedon, broke out with an accumulated fury
 when fomented and inflamed by the same power which
 had formerly restrained its rage. Throughout most cities
 of Greece the individuals distinguished by rank or merit

⁵⁶ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 55. & seq.

were banished, plundered, or put to death; the rabble under their malignant and long envious leaders tyrannizing with unbridled rapine and sanguinary cruelty⁵⁷.

But in the city of Athens, ever destined to distinction in history, a city itself the source and fountain of democracy, the party of the nobles remained master through the precaution which Cassander had taken to support it. His partisan, Nicanor, kept possession of the Munychia; despised the authority of the kings, defied the threats of Polysperchon, and derided the injunctions and intrigues of Olympias, who, elated with the near prospect of recovering her former credit, presumed, though yet an exile among the barbarous Epirots, unseasonably to interfere in the public transactions of the empire. Nicanor was encouraged to persevere in this boldness by the strength of his walls; the unsettled state of the regency; above all, by just confidence in the abilities of Cassander, in whose cause he had embarked his fortunes. He easily perceived, however, that Athens, surrounded with insurrection, must soon catch the flame. To anticipate that danger, he diligently levied troops; admitted them secretly into the Munychia; and by an assault equally successful and sudden, surprised the Piræus⁵⁸.

The condition of the Athenians now seemed truly deplorable; oppressive to their persons, and cruelly painful to their pride. They who had so nobly maintained their freedom against the arms of Macedon, were alone held in subjection in defiance of the precise orders of the Macedonian kings. At the moment when they had reason to expect the recovery of the Munychia, they had been robbed of the Piræus; and their servitude was thus riveted by double and most galling chains; their two renowned harbours, the source of their consideration and wealth, the bright ornaments of their republic, and the proud monuments of their naval glory. Humbled still more than weakened by their misfortunes, they applied to Phocion, their usual resource on every distressful emer-

CHAP.
IV.

Aristocracy mainly maintained in Athens, while all around resumed democracy.

Discontent of the Athenians.

⁵⁷ Plutarch in Phocion.
VOL. I.

⁵⁸ Diodor. *ibid.*
2 T

CHAP:
IV.

gence, and to Conon the son of Timotheus, whose merit ably sustained the fame of an illustrious line of ancestors. These two virtuous citizens were commissioned to treat with Nicanor about withdrawing his garrisons. But, instead of answering their arguments on this subject, he remitted them to Cassander, by whom, he said, the Munychia had been intrusted to him, for whose interests he had seized the Piræus, and to whom only he thought himself responsible⁵⁹.

Revolution
in favour of
democra-
cy. Olymp.
cxv. 3. B.
C. 318.

Meanwhile the Athenians pressed Polysperchon with repeated embassies, stating that in their case only, the royal edict had been most daringly violated. Careless of such solicitations, but instigated by his own passions and interests, Polysperchon made great levies, and intrusted them to his son Alexander. This Macedonian army was reinforced by a numerous band of Athenian exiles, of outlaws, and of that description of men called inhabitants, to denote their mere residence in the commonwealth, without enjoying any pretensions to its offices or honours. The united force marched towards Attica with orders to drive Nicanor from his strong-holds; while Polysperchon and the royal guards attending king Arrhidæus, followed more slowly to reap the fruits of victory. Upon Alexander's arrival at Athens, Phocion endeavoured to convince him of the extreme danger of committing that republic into the hands of the licentious multitude, and was listened to with complaisance, when he advised him, instead of restoring to the Athenians the Piræus and Munychia, should those harbours fall into his hands, to retain them in his own power, and bridle them by vigorous garrisons. Alexander's frequent interviews with Nicanor, whom he had been sent to combat, alarmed the suspicions of the Athenians; but when they discovered the advice given to the former by Phocion, their fears were converted into fury. To men animated by the party passions which domineered the Athenian populace, Phocion's real concern for the safety of his friends and fellowcitizens, could appear in no other

⁵⁹ Plutarch in Phocion.

light but that of the most manifest treachery to the liberties and independence of the commonwealth. An assembly was hastily summoned; strangers; outlaws, persons noted with infamy, and even slaves were admitted to the right of suffrage: the present aristocracy was abolished, and all those who had participated in its administration, were condemned to death, if they did not elude that sentence by a voluntary banishment. Conon and Pericles fled, with many other well known names hereditary in the most illustrious families of the commonwealth. Demetrius Phalereus, a young man hitherto distinguished only as the favourite scholar of the philosopher Theophrastus, withdrew himself on this occasion from popular rage, that he might emerge from obscure banishment at a happier crisis to promote the best interests of his country.

Phocion, and a few friends unalterably attached to him, less anxious for personal safety than zealous for any expedient through which the most worthy portion of the Athenians might be saved from ruin, had recourse to Alexander, by whom they were warmly recommended to his father Polysperchon. The protector sufficiently relished the advice given by Phocion to his son, with regard to the Athenian harbours. His object was to be master both of them and of the city. If Phocion could have best promoted this view, he would have espoused his cause; but that great man was now the victim of mistaken persecution; and Polysperchon saw the inconsistency of governing by an aristocracy the most conspicuous city of the confederacy, after he had just published an edict for restoring all Greece to democratic freedom⁶⁰. In his transaction, therefore, with the unfortunate Athenians who came to solicit his aid, no consideration restrained him from the indulgence of his natural brutality.

In their journey to Polysperchon in Phocis, the Athenians were accompanied by Dinarchus a Corinthian, who flattered them and himself with his mighty influence over the

CHAP.
IV.

Phocion
recom-
mended to
Polysper-
chon by his
son Alex-
ander.

The Athe-
nians tried
by Polys-
perchon.
—His exe-
crable cru-
city.

⁶⁰ Diodor. l. xvii. s. 66.

CHAP. mind of the protector in consequence of old familiarity and
IV. mutual good offices. Dinarchus fell sick at Elataea, which occasioned a most unseasonable delay, for the assembly of Athens, agitated by demagogues, despatched in this interval an embassy to Polysperchon, arraigning Phocion and his companions. The adverse parties met the king and protector at an obscure village near the foot of mount Arorion. To give the semblance of regularity and pomp to a trial disgraced by every circumstance of injustice and cruelty, Polysperchon ordered a pavilion to be raised for king Arrhidæus, covered with a canopy of gold, and when the tribunal was constituted in the usual form, showed that public motives only were to influence his conduct, by consigning his personal friend Dinarchus to the instruments of torture⁶¹.

Phocion.
—His
character
and unwor-
thy treat-
ment.

It will be easier to conceive the consternation of those who trusted to the intercession of the ill-fated Corinthian, than to imagine the mingled sentiments which agitated Phocion's breast, where humanity emboldened by dignity had long fixed her throne. He had passed his eightieth year in the enjoyment or contempt of the greatest rewards which kings or commonwealths can bestow. Forty-five times he had been elected general of the Athenians, without once soliciting that high station. The allies of his republic had presented him with crowns and statues; and even its enemies admired his abilities and venerated his virtues. Philip, and his immortal son who delighted in every kind of merit, laboured successively and strenuously to gain Phocion to their interests. The man who, amidst the most lucrative employments of his country, remained poor from inclination and taste, might reject the insolent generosity of strangers; but Phocion did more; he preferred serving a republic whose levity he despised, whose vices he detested, whose hasty resentment he had often experienced, to the generosity and friendship of princes whom his discernment justly held in the highest estimation. Having fallen amidst the turbulence and madness of the

⁶¹ Plutarch in Phocion.

latter democracy, he often stemmed the torrent of popular phrensy; and the fiercest demagogues had often trembled at the frown of Phocion. All the splendid excellencies of his character were harmonized by the mild lustre of humanity; and this was his true glory, that those terrible eyebrows with which his enemies reproached him, had never rebuked insultingly the meanest citizen, nor ever threatened vengefully the most implacable adversary. Such mild dignity of life availed not to avert death from a wicked tribunal, before which he was often interrupted by the unfeeling demagogue Agnonides, and often reproached by the detestable Polysperchon. At length, stamping the ground with his feet, the protector dismissed sternly the accused persons from his presence, that they might be thrown in irons, and thus remanded to Athens. In a letter to the new magistrates of that city, he told them that Phocion and his friends appeared to him guilty of many crimes; but that their fate ought ultimately to be decided by the Athenian people. In this forbearance Polysperchon was guided, not by the hope of mitigating his guilt of blood, for of that he seemed altogether careless, but by his desire of soothing and seducing the Athenian multitude, who panted for an opportunity of exercising their recently acquired right of impeachment and punishment. Phocion was accused of subverting the free government of Athens, and a time was appointed for hearing his defence. This was the only regular part of the proceedings; for, at sight of the promiscuous rabble crowding the market-place, a virtuous citizen exclaimed, that since the decision belonged to Athenians, strangers and slaves ought to be excluded from the assembly. His observation only provoked the threats of the populace. No one ventured to rise in favour of Phocion; and when he began to plead for himself, his voice was drowned in rude clamours, until he proceeded to ask, "whether they meant to condemn him justly or unjustly?" The answer being returned "justly." "How can you know that," he rejoined, "unless I am heard." But his second attempt to speak

CHAP.
IV.

His trial
and execu-
tion.
Olymp.
cxv. 3. B.
C. 318.

CHAP. was overpowered with equal brutality, the multitude only ob-
IV. serving the violent and varied agitations of his body while he defended the lives of his dearest friends. On this interesting subject, affection invigorating his voice, he was heard to say, "I willingly submit to death, but why should you destroy these innocent men?" The multitude replied, "because they are your friends." Agnonides then read his prepared decree for proceeding to immediate execution.

While the prisoners were conducted to punishment, several of them melted into tears at taking the last farewell of their friends and kinsmen. But Phocion maintained that steady composure and firm aspect, with which he had often led the Athenians to battle, and often returned in triumph amidst the general acclamations of his countrymen. Yet his heroism could not now overawe the brutish multitude intoxicated with their mad victory over abilities and virtues. Many loaded him with reproaches, all rejoiced at his misfortunes, one wretch spat in his face. Phocion only noticed this insult, by saying calmly, "will none hinder the unhappy man from covering himself with disgrace!" Being asked by a citizen who met the procession, whether he had any commands for his son Phocus? he replied, "that he should forget and forgive the cruel injustice of the Athenians." In prison, his friends requested that he would be the last to drink the fatal hemlock. He said the request was painful; that nevertheless he would comply, as he had never denied them any thing on any former occasion. The hemlock being exhausted, the executioner refused to prepare a new dose, unless he were previously paid twelve drachmas. Phocion desired the money to be given to him, remarking gaily, "that a man could not even die gratis at Athens." The inhuman treatment of this admirable person was followed by a total extinction of conspicuous worth in the most ancient and most illustrious of the Grecian commonwealths. The cruelty of his legal murder seemed to his superstitious contemporaries to derive aggravation from the day on which it happened; the nine-

teenth of May being a festival consecrated to Jupiter, and celebrated at Athens by an equestrian procession. The horsemen, many of whom had fought under the banners of Phocion, halted before the place of his confinement, tearing their garlands from their heads, and bewailing his altered fortune and approaching execution⁶².

But the guiltless blood which these degenerate Athenians had only pity to lament, the Macedonian Cassander had courage to avenge. To oppose the measures of the protector, he had, as observed above, solicited assistance from Antigonus who wished to destroy every paramount power in the empire, and from him obtained thirty-five ships of war and six thousand veterans. With this armament, only four days after Phocion's death, he sailed to the Piræus then held by his deputy Nicanor. That officer resigning to him the Piræus again resumed the command of the Munychia; and the two harbours of Athens defended the city under its new democracy, and Polysperchon who marched from Phocis with an army twenty-five thousand strong and sixty-five elephants⁶³.

As the operations against the Athenian harbours were protracted far beyond expectation, scarcity of provisions compelled Polysperchon to divide his forces. A part was left with his son Alexander to besiege the Piræus and Munychia; with the larger portion he marched into Peloponnesus, where the Arcadian city of Megalopolis still rejected his royal edict for abolishing its aristocracy. In his attempts to enter the place, he was obstinately resisted by fifteen thousand warriors. In vain he employed the butting strength of his elephants for breaking open the gates. Danus, a Megalopolitan, who had accompanied the Indian expedition of Alexander, rendered ineffectual the hostility of these assailants, now first employed in the wars of Greece. Their fury was resisted or turned on their conductors by a machinery of wooden planks, armed with iron spikes artfully concealed in the ground⁶⁴.

CNAP.
IV.

Cassander
defends the
harbours of
Athens
against the
city.

Operations
of Polys-
perchon in
the Pello-
ponnesus.
Olymp.
cxv. 3. B.
C. 318.

⁶² Plutarch in Phocion. ⁶³ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 68. ⁶⁴ Id. l. xviii. s. 71.

CHAP.
IV.

Sea-fight
off Byzantium.
Olymp.
cxv. 3. B.
C. 318.
Antigon-
us' suc-
cessful
stratagem.

Disconcerted in his measures at Megalopolis, but happy in filling other cities of the Peloponnesus with sedition and bloodshed, Polysperchon was recalled into Macedon, to co-operate, as we shall see presently, with Olympias in that country. Before leaving Attica he had sent his admiral, Clytus, with a numerous fleet to assist Arideus governor of the Hellespontian Phrygia, who was painfully struggling, as before related, under the mighty grasp of Antigonus. Cassander to prevent the triumph of the enemy in that important quarter, ordered Nicanor to sail for the narrow seas with the squadron of thirty-five ships belonging to Antigonus, and such an additional force from the Piræus and Munychia, as raised the whole number to a hundred gallees. The hostile fleets met in the Thracian Bosphorus, and fought the battle of Byzantium famous for the rapid alternation of victory, and still more memorable for its important consequences both in Europe and Asia. In the first scene of the bloody drama, Nicanor was defeated; above one half of his ships was taken; and the remainder happy to find refuge in the neighbouring harbour of Calcedon, directly opposite to Byzantium. But Antigonus who, at the head of an army, watched the proceedings of both parties, converted this heavy disaster into the means of signal and brilliant success⁶⁵. Having despatched proper agents to Byzantium, he collected, in the first part of the night, the small craft and merchantmen lying in that seaport. In these vessels, having hastily embarked the choice of his light armed troops, he assailed before dawn, the unsuspecting victors, who had presumptuously landed on the Thracian coast, encumbered and fatigued with the care of their booty and prisoners. Clytus, unprepared to fight, ordered his men to fly to their ships. Part of them put to sea, but encountered there a new danger; for Nicanor, whom Antigonus had reinforced with a select band, calculated to act as marines, was ready for their reception. Their whole fleet was taken, except the admiral's galley, with which Clytus

⁶⁵ Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 72. and Polyæn, l. iv. c. 68.

landed on an obscure part of the Thracian coast, hoping secretly to escape to Macedon. But being recognised in his flight, he perished ignobly by some Thracian deserters; a sad reverse to a man, who, upon his first temporary advantage, had assumed the trident of Neptune, and affected the honours of divinity⁶⁶!

CHAP.
IV.

The momentous consequences of this victory, with regard to the affairs of Antigonus and Eumenes, will afterwards be explained. In Greece also, the success of Cassander's admiral, contrasted with the recent disgrace of Polysperchon before the walls of Megalopolis, greatly encouraged the one party, and proportionally disheartened the other; while the opposite behaviour of the two leaders corresponded with the natural tendency of their contrary fortunes, and powerfully heightened their effect. Old age had enfeebled the understanding of Polysperchon, without moderating his passions. He was rash without boldness, slow without prudence, contemptible through pusillanimity, and odious through cruelty. But the character of Cassander was equally ardent and engaging; and the energy mixed with caution, conspicuous in all his measures, procured for him a decided ascendancy in every republic beyond the Isthmus. Even the Athenians, outrageous as had been their recent proceedings, abated of their animosity, repented of past errors, and surrendered on capitulation their city, to a general already master of their harbours. According to the moderate terms agreed on, they were secured in the enjoyment of their country, their ships, revenues, and hereditary laws. The right of suffrage, however, was thenceforward to be confined to those possessing at least a thousand drachmas of yearly income; a census, which though falling short by one half of that established by Antipater after the Lamian war, yet excluded from the assembly and courts of justice, the wretched rabble, whose recent brutality had eternally disgraced their country⁶⁷. To these conditions an article was added, abridging the liberty of

Athens surrenders to Cassander:

⁶⁶ Plutarch *Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.* ⁶⁷ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 74.

CHAP. Athens, but increasing her real happiness. Demetrius Phalereus, of whom we before made mention, an Athenian indeed

IV.
Is governed
ten years by
Demetrius
Phalereus.
Olymp.
cxv. 4.—
cxviii. 2. B.
C. 317—
307.

by birth, but whose father had been a slave, in the houses of Conon and Timotheus⁶⁸, was appointed to control the finances and administer the government. Demetrius was in his thirtieth year, when the favour of his friend Cassander raised him to this high station, for which he was equally well qualified by his talents and his temper. To the knowledge of philosophy and politics, then deemed practical sciences, he united an easy and copious flow of persuasive eloquence, in his judgment as essential to a statesman as tactics to a general⁶⁹. Among his first public measures, he carefully ascertained the populousness of the community, amounting to twenty-one thousand citizens, and ten thousand strangers; both of these numbers including the males of full age only; and four hundred thousand slaves of every age and either sex⁷⁰. During the ten years that he presided over the republic, he improved the revenues, beautified the city, moderated expensive vanity, and restrained ruinous luxury. By his rewards, and still more his example, he encouraged arts and letters; and it is acknowledged by the warmest republicans of antiquity, that the Athenians experienced more happiness and even more secure freedom under the guidance of this wise and virtuous governor, than they ever enjoyed amidst the factious turbulence of their wild democracy⁷¹.

Olympias
returns to
Macedon,
and gains
the army.
Olymp.
cxv. 4.—B.
C. 317.

While the fortune of Cassander thus flowed with a prosperous tide in Greece, his admired Euridice ruled with a high hand in Macedon. The authority of Polysperchon seemed for ever extinguished; and in vain he would have marched from the Peloponnesus, in hopes to recover it, had not Olympias, with talents for intrigue, improved by long and unremitted practice, returned from Epirus, carrying with her Alexander Ægus, whom many regarded as rightful heir

⁶⁸ Ælian. V. Hist. l. xii. c. 43.

& seq.

⁶⁹ Diogen. Laert. in Demet. l. v.

⁷¹ Cicero de Legibus, l. iii. c. 6

s. 75. Plutarch and Cicero passim.

and Strabo, l. ix. p. 398. Diodorus,

⁷⁰ Athenæus, l. vi. as explained

Plutarch, Ælian, &c. speak to the

in my Introduction to Lysias, p. 5.

same purpose.

to the monarchy. Confiding in this sacred pledge, in the last desperate struggles of Polysperchon, and in the zealous aid of her brother Æacidas, king of Epirus, she expected to resume her ascendancy with the Macedonians, as the wife, the mother, and the protectress of their beloved hereditary kings. Euridice, when apprised of her intentions, despatched messengers to Cassander, then in the Peloponnesus, requiring his presence; but though his alacrity and ambition were winged by love, he arrived too late to save even the life of his mistress. Olympias had hastened to the obscure Macedonian town of Evia, near the lake Lychnidus, on the Illyrian frontier, where her rival lay encamped, in order to repel the invasion. By insults intolerable to Euridice's high spirit, she provoked her to battle. While the hostile armies were arraying for combat, Olympias, with a courage that bespoke the descendent of Achilles and the mother of Alexander, advanced between the approaching lines. Her aspect, her voice, the boldness of her graceful action, the tender years and auspicious name of her grandchild Alexander Ægus, all these circumstances affected and overawed the factious but ever loyal Macedonians. They recalled to memory her former greatness, and remembered the triumphant reigns of her son, and of her husband⁷².

With a sudden and unanimous resolution, they deserted the standard of Euridice. That unhappy princess, with the contemptible Arrhidæus, equally a pageant as a king and as a husband, were intercepted in their flight towards the fortified city of Amphipolis, and by order of Olympias, thrown together into a dungeon, while the implacable conqueror prepared to use her victory, not with the dignity of a queen, the tenderness of a woman, or even the feeling of a human creature. After suffering for many days the cruellest indignities, Philip Arrhidæus, who had sat six years and four months on the throne of Alexander, was released by the merciful hands of Thracian assassins. To Euridice, before whose eyes he suffered, Olympias sent

OHAP.
IV.

Murder of
Arrhidæus
and Euri-
dice.
Olymp.
cxv. 4. B.
C. 317.

⁷² Diodorus, l. xix. s. 11.

CHAP.
IV.

three presents; a dagger, a rope, and a cup of poison. The vengeful pride of Euridice prayed that her adversary might soon be compelled to use her own abominable gifts: for herself she needed them not: her own zone, which she dexterously prepared for the purpose in presence of Olympias' messengers, served for a more honourable instrument of death. Previously to her self-inflicted execution, she asserted her preferable right to the crown, but neither bewailed her premature fate, nor indicated the smallest humiliation at her accumulated misfortunes. The fury of Olympias was yet implacable. The chief adherents of Cassander, about an hundred illustrious Macedonians, were attainted and executed. Her impotent rage ransacked even the tombs of the dead; and the mouldering bones of his brother Jollas, who had been cupbearer to Alexander, were exposed and condemned on the derided pretence that he had poisoned his king and master⁷³.

Cassander
avenges
their death.

But Cassander himself lived to avenge all these enormities. Polysperchon indeed guarded the southern frontier of Macedon; and his countrymen, the Etolians, occupied the straits of Thermopylæ. The army personally attached to Olympias, was committed to lieutenants: that inexorable queen, whose crimes had filled her fierce breast with panic, shut herself up within the impregnable strength of Pydna, accompanied by the young Alexander, his mother Roxana, and an illustrious attendance of female relations, princesses of Macedon or Epirus⁷⁴. Instead of attempting to make his way to her by land, Cassander collected transports chiefly from Locris and Eubæa, and proceeded by sea to Thessaly. Against Polysperchon, who was encamped in the district of that country called Perrhebia, he sent Callas, an able officer, who had the address to excite disaffection in the army of an old and morose general. A revolt, fomented by Cassander's emissaries in Epirus, prevented all danger from that quarter. Cassander in person laid siege to Pydna; which, besides

⁷³ Diodorus, l. xix. s. 11. and Pausanias, l. viii. c. 7. ⁷⁴ Diodor. l. xix. s. 35

the strength of the place, was defended by a severe and tempestuous winter. It was, however, blocked up by sea and land, until the scarcity became so great, that the soldiers were obliged to subsist for a week on the ordinary allowance of a single day. At length it became necessary to kill the horses for food; the elephants fed on saw dust; the Greeks and Macedonians died of hunger; the Barbarians eat the dead bodies⁷⁵. Having failed in an attempt to escape by night, in a brigantine supplied by Polysperchon, Olympias avoided, by surrender, the famine fast approaching herself and her illustrious kinswomen. Life was the only boon for which she stipulated; but with this condition, her own dangerous character, and the fickle temper of the Macedonians, rendered it unsafe to comply. She was, agreeably to the legal forms of her country, publicly arraigned; and not appearing to plead, was condemned capitally. Cassander wished her to confirm the decision by voluntary flight; but on pretence of some irregularity in the proceedings, she demanded a new trial. This demand was answered by a body of two hundred men, selected from the army as fit instruments for murder. The majesty of her aspect is said to have disarmed the assassins; but her fate was at hand from her personal adversaries, the kinsmen of her late victims, and stern avengers of their blood. She suffered death with the same unconcern with which she would have inflicted it⁷⁶; a woman of unconquerable spirit, of great accomplishments and beauty, but hideously deformed by cruelty and revenge.

In the fate of Olympias was involved that of Aristonous, a man of the highest rank among Alexander's captains, since, at the time of his master's death, he held a place, as we have before seen, both among the *lifeguards* and the *equestrian companions*. He had remained in Europe as the likeliest person, failing Antipater, to be raised to the protectorship; but to the great misfortune of the empire, Polysperchon had

CHAP.
IV.
Siege of
Pydna.
Olymp.
cxvi. l. B.
C. 316.

Trial and
death of
Olympias.

Aristonous
involved in
her fate.
Olymp.
cxvi. l.—
B. C. 316.

⁷⁵ Diodorus, l. xix. s. 49.

Diodor. l. xix. s. 51. and Polyænus,

⁷⁶ Conf. Pausanias, Bæotic. c. 7. l. iv. c. ii.

CHAP. been preferred to him. He now commanded in Amphipolis;
IV. and at the desire of Olympias, reluctantly capitulated with Cassander on condition of personal safety. But Aristonous was quickly sacrificed to reasons of state; he was a man doubly dangerous by his dignity and his loyalty⁷⁷.

Cassander
marries
Philip's
daughter
Thessalo-
nica.

The capture of Pydna put into Cassander's power, among other illustrious prisoners, Alexander Ægus, with his mother Roxana; Deidamia, niece to Olympias, being daughter to Æacidas, king of Epirus; and Thessalonica, the youngest daughter of Philip of Macedon. The young Alexander and Roxana were shut up in the strong castle of Amphipolis. Deidamia proved an useful hostage for the fidelity of the Epirots; and Thessalonica was made subservient by Cassander to his views of greatness. Descended on one side from the kings of Macedon, and on the other from the illustrious Jason of Thessaly, Thessalonica might have spurned the hand of a man naturally the servant of such families; but her pride durst not decline the proffered nuptials. They were celebrated with a pomp surpassing that of the obsequies of Arrhidæus and Euridice; who were interred, however, with royal honours at Ægæe, as legitimate wearers of a crown, which rightfully devolved, by their inhuman murder, on Cassander and Thessalonica.

Builds
Cassan-
dria.
Olymp.
exvi. l.—
B. C. 316.

To mark this accession to power, Cassander founded a new city called by his name, on the Isthmus of Pallene; a situation uniting peculiar advantages in point of war and commerce. Cassandria arose from the ruins of Potidæa; and being endowed with a fertile territory, adorned by a double harbour, and strongly fortified by sea and land, speedily attained, under the fostering hand of its founder, a magnitude proportional to its rank, as the new Macedonian capital⁷⁸.

Restores
Thebes.

Yet, as the founder of Cassandria, this fortunate usurper gained less glory, than he shortly afterwards acquired as the

⁷⁷ Diodor. l. xix. s. 50.

⁷⁸ Id. *ibid.* s. 52.

restorer of Thebes. In an expedition, undertaken for destroying Polysperchon's adherents in the Peloponnesus, whom he expelled from all their possessions, except Corinth and Sicyon, Cassander passed through the ancient city of Cadmus, so famous in the history, and still more in the fables of Greece. He viewed its desolation with real, or well-affected concern, and embraced the resolution of rebuilding its walls, and collecting its wandering citizens within them. Such a generous purpose inspired the Athenians and neighbouring states with an emulation of beneficence. Even the Greeks of Asia, Italy, Sicily, and Cyrenè, vied with each other in contributions towards restoring the pristine splendour of Thebes; and the renovation of this ancient capital, whose ruin had been invidiously ascribed, as we have shown, to the son of Philip, helped to consolidate the power and renown of the supplanter of his family ⁷⁹.

CHAP.
IV.

⁷⁹ Conf. Pausanias, l. xi. c. 7. and Diodor. l. xix. s. 53, 54.

CHAPTER V.

State of the Empire. Fancied Theocracy in the Throne of Alexander. Machinations of the Rebellious Satraps. Defeated by Eumenes. He marches into the upper Provinces. Peculiar Circumstances of their Governors at that Moment. War between Antigonus and Eumenes. Their mutual Stratagems, and Battles. Defection of the Argyraspides. Eumenes' Captivity and Death.

CHAP.
V.

State of the
empire at
the time of
Antipater's
death.
Olymp.
cxv. 2. B.
C. 319.

THE death of Antipater, the only one of Alexander's successors long practised in government, dissolved the whole vigour of the regency. In Egypt and Cyrenè Ptolemy confirmed his separate sovereignty. On the banks of the Euphrates, Seleucus was meditating designs equally independent and still more lofty. Lysimachus laboriously reared his barbarous monarchy of Thrace; the civil commotions in Greece conspired with the domestic dissensions in the royal family of Macedon to throw these countries into the hands of Cassander; while Lesser Asia exhibited a various and deep drama, ennobled at once by the powers of the performers and the splendid prize of victory. The prize was the golden throne of Lydian Cræsus; the combatants were Antigonus and Eumenes; Antigonus, the most energetic, and Eumenes, the most dexterous of all the Macedonian captains.

Eumenes
takes the
command
in Asia
against
Antigonus.
Olymp.
cxv. 3. B.
C. 318.

We have already seen the artful secretary of Alexander released by his own consummate address from the Cappadocian fortress of Nora; and from the successive and equally abject conditions of a fugitive and a prisoner, raised, as it were, at one bound, to the most efficient station in the empire. In virtue of the office conferred upon him by the protector Polysperchon, he was entitled to summon to his standard the silver shielded *hypaspists*, who had faithfully performed the

business recently intrusted to them, of conveying part of the treasures of Upper Asia to the Cilician fortress Kuinda, situate among abrupt fastnesses about twelve miles north of Tarsus. The protector's vicegerent in Asia was further intrusted with ample powers over the other treasuries in the empire; and the satraps, in every part of the East, were commanded to assist him to the utmost of their abilities¹.

Before he received this ample commission, Eumenes, immediately upon his escape from Nora, had been joined by several thousands of those provincial troops whom he had himself formed; and who now accompanied their beloved commander and friend to the neighbourhood of Kuinda. The treasures in that fortress enabled him to reward their alacrity, to make hasty levies in Caria and Pisidia, provinces still unconquered by Antigonos, and to employ numerous agents in hiring mercenaries from many parts of Greece, and even from Tarentum in Italy. Upon his appearance in Cilicia, the Argyraspides joined his standard in compliance with the royal mandate. But the submission of their chiefs, Antigones, and Teutamius, was reluctant; the obedience of the troops was precarious, and both officers and men had ingrafted the pompous luxury of Asia on their native pride and habitual fierceness. These dangerous passions, Eumenes, after vainly endeavouring to appease them by great personal modesty, contrived happily to control by an expedient congenial to the superstition of the age, and perhaps suggested by his own. Besides the ample powers contained in his commission, Polysperchon, in name of the kings, had bestowed on him five hundred talents to repair his pecuniary and private losses; a present, which Eumenes told the Argyraspides as far exceeded his wishes, as the princely authority conferred on him surpassed his birth and his abilities. "Alexander alone was worthy to command the highminded Macedonians; and from that immortal prince, humble as was his own condition, he had been honoured with a message

CHAP.
V.

Fancied
theocracy
in the port-
able temple
of Alexan-
der.
Olymp.
cxv. 4. B.
C. 317.

¹ Diodor. l. xix. s. 12. & seq. Plutarch in Eumen.

CHAP. V. to them, which being communicated by supernatural means, ought to be respectfully received and implicitly obeyed. In a manifest and distinct vision, he had beheld his august master: he had heard his commanding voice. Alexander had shown to him an altar and pavilion, declaring that when his friends assembled in the pavilion round his altar, he would be present in the midst of them to direct their councils. The royal munificence intended for myself personally, I will therefore consecrate to him, through whose incomparable merit all our fortunes have been established. On a resplendent throne of gold, let us deposit his armour, sceptre, and diadem: let us daily worship at his altar: around both let the chiefs assemble on every important emergency: we shall deliberate boldly, yet wisely, when inspired by the unerring genius of our divine sovereign." The proposal was heard with an enthusiasm of applause; and the design being executed with equal magnificence and celerity, a fancied theocracy was vested in the portable temple of Alexander, which glowing with the gems of the East, thenceforward directed the motions of the royal army².

Thereby
defeats the
machina-
tions of
Ptolemy
and other
satraps
against
him.

While Eumenes was busied with rearing in Cilicia this extraordinary engine of government, Antigonus was still detained at the farther extremity of the peninsula. Aridæus, governor of Hellespontian Phrygia, had been enabled to keep a footing in that province through the cooperation of Clytus commanding the numerous fleet of Polysperchon. But the decisive battle of Byzantium, in which Antigonus had prevailed through his matchless activity and energy, gave him the entire command of the narrow seas; and as he had now no dangerous enemy behind in Asia, nor any reason to apprehend the transportation of troops from Europe to wrest from him his conquests, he prepared to march eastward to crush the rival general of the empire, who more consistently than himself with that character, maintained the indivisibility of Alexander's succession. The principle of

² Plutarch et Diodor. l. xix. s. 12. & seq.

indivisibility was highly obnoxious to Ptolemy. He considered Egypt and Cyrenè as completely his own, and expected also to retain his recent conquest of Syria, including Palestine and Phœnicia. Upon the first appearance of a new power hostile to his views, growing up in the center of the empire, he had sent a fleet of observation to the Cilician harbour of Zephyrium; and his emissaries, as well as those of Antigonus, now crowded the camp of Eumenes, and industriously sowed sedition. Teutamus, one of the leaders of the Argyraspides, was seduced into a conspiracy against his general's life. But these profligate machinations, Eumenes surmounted with such dexterity, that the abortive attempts to excite discontent among the soldiers, only riveted him more firmly in their affections; augmented their zeal and animated their alacrity³.

To avail himself of these favourable dispositions, he led his army, now fifteen thousand strong, into the neighbouring province of Phœnicia. Ptolemy's garrisons were weak. He had usurped the country in direct opposition to the authority of the kings and the protector. Eumenes was every where successful in Phœnicia; and was on the point of recovering for the kings the whole of that maritime coast, when he received news of Antigonus' march against him, at the head of the most select part of his army, amounting to twenty-four thousand well disciplined soldiers. In consequence of this information, it became necessary to move into Upper Asia, whose satraps still respected the authority of the kings: had he remained on the seacoast, his small force must have been crushed between Ptolemy and Antigonus, both of whom set that authority at defiance. By hasty marches Eumenes proceeded through Cœlesyria, traversed the long valley of the Orontes, crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma, and encamped first at Carrhæ in Mesopotamia, and afterwards in the narrower peninsula of Babylonia, thirty miles above Babylon.

³ Plutarch and Diodor. *ibid.*

CHAP.
V.

Seleucus
distresses
his army by
inundating
the coun-
try. Olymp.
cxv. 4. B.
C. 317.

In his march eastward he had sent an embassy to Seleucus, acquainting him with his commission and his views. Seleucus spoke respectfully of the royal commission; but instead of assisting the general who had been named to exercise it, secretly tampered with the Argyraspides and endeavoured to seduce their allegiance. Having discovered and defeated these intrigues, Eumenes prepared to pass the Tigris, (whose western bank had been unmercifully foraged in preceding wars,) both for the sake of more plentiful subsistence, and that he might approach the rich province of Susiana, particularly the royal treasury in the fortress of Susa. Seleucus, apprised of his design, determined to avail himself, for defeating it, of the nature of the country, perpetually intersected by rivers or canals, since it is the common drain of the Highlands in Media, at the same time, that it receives from the more distant Taurus in Armenia, the majestic streams of the Tigris and Euphrates. By opening the sluices of an old and neglected communication between these rivers, he exposed the camp of Eumenes to a sudden inundation: so that when a chosen division of his troops had passed the Tigris in boats hastily collected by them, they were under the necessity of returning in order to save the baggage and more encumbered portion of the army. The information of an intelligent native of Babylonia taught Eumenes how to divert the superfluous waters. While proper measures were using for that purpose, Seleucus, who had not sufficient strength openly to resist the invaders, and who wished by all means to remove them from his province, sent to offer a truce and an unobstructed passage of the river, at the same moment that he urged by message Antigonus, who was already in Mesopotamia, to hasten his progress to Babylon; that they might cooperate effectually against their common foe⁴. Eumenes meanwhile crossed safely into Susiana, a country enriched by alluvial slime, and celebrated for making re-

⁴ Diodor. l. xix. s. 13.

turns in wheat and barley of an hundred and sometimes two hundred fold⁵. But the corn was not then in the fields, the natives concealed their magazines, and the country had not probably been altogether exempted from the ravages which had desolated the opposite bank of the Tigris⁶. For the greater facility of subsistence, Eumenes formed his army into three divisions: and even with this precaution, was obliged, instead of bread, to be contented with rice, sesame, and dates, in which the whole province abounded. From Susiana, he despatched messengers into Media and the more eastern satrapies, requiring their governors, conformably to the royal pleasure, to reinforce his arms. He likewise applied to Zenophilus, the keeper of the castle and treasury of Susa; who acknowledged the authority of his commission, and showed the utmost readiness in answering all his demands.

With his despatches to the satrapies he had not reason to expect a ready or universal compliance. Amidst the uncertainty of a disputed succession, and the loose irregularity of government to which they had long been accustomed, the distant governors, always inclined to disaffection, might totally disregard the royal mandate. The opportunity, too, of resisting Antigonus might be for ever lost, before the agents of Eumenes could traverse the vast regions bounded by the Tigris, the Caspian, and the eastern stream of the Indus. Both these inconveniences were obviated by a conjuncture not less favourable than singular. Python, governor of Media, with whose character the reader is sufficiently acquainted, had shown an inclination rather to imitate than oppose the rebellion of Antigonus. Not contented with commanding the finest province in the empire, he had employed its resources towards acquiring in the East, a pre-eminence not less conspicuous than that of the western usurper. Philotas, satrap of Parthia, who resisted his mea-

CHAP.

V.

Eumenes' embassy to the eastern satrapies. Olymp. cxxv. & B. C. 317.

Their condition at that time.

⁵ Strabo, l. xv. p. 1063.

⁶ Diodorus, l. xix. s. 12. He adds indeed *πρὸς δὲ πρὸς ἀνταγώνιστον*. But the

contrary seems more probable, by what afterwards happened to the army.

CHAP. V. sures with more boldness than ability, was the victim of

his vengeance. The surrounding satraps, alarmed by the fate of Philotas, flew to arms, defeated Python in Parthia, and expelled him successively both from that province and from Media. He was thus forced across the Tigris, and compelled to court the protection of Seleucus. The messengers of Eumenes found the allies still assembled in one camp, and the better disposed to listen to their master's demands because his enemy Seleucus had kindly received Python, the object of their common resentment. They consented unanimously to join his standard in Susiana, and executed their resolution with the same alacrity with which it had been taken. But we are justly surprised at the scanty supplies of troops collected from the massy square between the Tigris and the Indus, the Persian gulph and the Caspian. Except Python, whom we have just mentioned, and Peucestes satrap of Persis, the Proper Persia, the governors of the different provinces included in that vast space, exceeding in extent the half of Europe, were all of them Macedonian officers of the second rank; and who had received those lucrative commands as the rewards of past services, without ever reaching either high distinction in the army, or high preferment in the personal attendance on their sovereign. Peucestes, as well as Python, was in the number of the eight lifeguards of Alexander; and the former had been sent to govern the imperial district of Persis about the same time that the latter was raised to the command of one of the eight troops of *Companions*. To the standard of Eumenes, Peucestes brought thirteen thousand foot and one thousand horse; Tlepolemus, Sibyrtius, and Stasander, who were respectively satraps of Carmania, Arachosia, and Aria, commanded small divisions amounting collectively to three thousand nine hundred foot, and two thousand three hundred horse; Androbazus, lieutenant of Oxyartes⁷, conducted from Paro-

Their respective forces.

⁷ Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, mity from heading his own forces. was prevented through age or infir-

pamisus only twelve hundred foot and four hundred horse; but Eudamus, who had succeeded to Python the son of Agenor as superintendent of the Macedonian affairs in the Panjab, supplied a formidable brigade of an hundred and twenty elephants, attended by a body of three thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry: the whole⁸ reinforcement which Eumenes derived from the East, little exceeded twenty thousand foot and four⁹ thousand horse; a number extremely inconsiderable when compared with European armies of modern date, yet, as it consisted chiefly of well disciplined Greeks, sufficient in that age to command respect in Asia; a circumstance conformable to the experience of after times, since the battle of Plassey, which established the English dominion in India, was gained by three thousand men, of whom only nine hundred were Europeans¹⁰.

The vigorous preparations of Eumenes obliged Antigonus to change his plan. His first aim had been to surprise by celerity; but he now suspended his march, in order to gain by new levies an equality of force. He was joined in the neighbourhood of Babylon by Python the deprived satrap of Media, who commanded fifteen hundred horsemen; and by a detachment from Seleucus, who, anxious to remove the war from his own province, strongly encouraged him to pass the Tigris and give battle to the enemy. In compliance with an advice, congenial to his natural confidence, Antigonus crossed the Tigris on a bridge of boats, and advanced to the Pasitigris (or eastern Tigris,) a river distant in the latitude of Susa, about seventy miles from the former, though their streams gradually converge as they approach the Persian gulph. The Pasitigris is formed by four rivers which descend from the Median mountains, and of which the Eulæus and Choaspes

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Antigonus
crosses the
Tigris to
meet the
enemy.
Olymp.
cxvi. 1.—
B. C. 316.

The Pasiti-
gris.

⁸ We shall afterwards find in his army at the first battle, Amphimachus satrap of Mesopotamia; and in the second battle, Mithridates of Pontus, and Philip of Bactriana; of the junction of these three satraps no notice is taken.

⁹ Diodorus says 18,700 foot and 4,600 horse; but his particular numbers do not give this general amount. Diodor. l. xix. s. 14.

¹⁰ Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindostan, p. 93.

CHAP. V. unite a little above Susa, a city indifferently described as watered by the one or the other, being, in fact, adjacent to their united stream. This stream, in flowing towards the Persian gulph, is joined by the Coprates, and a still more eastern river named also the Pasitigris¹¹; whereas the proper Pasitigris, formed by the confluence of the four, is sometimes called the Eulæus by those who embarking above Susa sail towards the Persian gulph¹². On the left bank of the most eastern branch of the proper Pasitigris, Eumenes fixed his camp, having allowed his enemies to pass the Tigris without molestation, because they would then be inclosed in a marshy, intricate, and at that season, unwholesome country; and not doubting that he should gain an opportunity of assailing them with great advantage, while they crossed one or other of the four intermediate rivers¹³.

Peucestes brings ten thousand Persians to the assistance of Eumenes.

Meanwhile Peucestes, although, as one of Alexander's body-guards, he thought himself degraded by serving under Eumenes, strenuously cooperated with that general through hatred of Python, and fear of Antigonus: and, for the purpose of harassing the enemy, summoned to his aid ten thousand Persian archers by an expedient often practised, always ready at command, and which had been originally suggested by the singular fitness of local circumstances. In the extent of above five hundred miles along the Persian gulph, the jagged mountains stretching from the bay of Ormus to the bloody dens of the Uxii and Cossæans, were so regularly intersected, that sentinels had been posted at nearly equal distances, whose voices could communicate intelligence from one mountain to another in twenty-four hours, over a country that was the march of a laborious month. Of this contrivance the Persian

¹¹ *Pasi*, signifying the East, explains the community of the name; though Strabo, l. xv. p. 730. derives it from the Greek, *πασι*, denoting the confluence of all the Susian rivers into the Tigris.

¹² See Dr. Vincent's *Voyage of Nearchus*, p. 461.

¹³ Diodorus, by confounding the

Tigris and Pasitigris, has rendered this campaign unintelligible. He wrote probably from the description of an eye-witness, Hieronymus of Cardia, then accompanying Eumenes. But his universal history is too vast a design to admit of minute accuracy.

kings had made use, to defend against sudden invasion the central and imperial district of their country, the scene of their decisive victories over the Medes, and the seat of their successive palaces Pasargarda and Persepolis. The same means were now employed by Peucestes, for gaining a speedy¹⁴ reinforcement, but which, as we shall see hereafter, his selfishness made subservient rather to the views of his private ambition, than to the interest of the common cause.

Antigonus had by this time reached Susiana. He declared Seleucus governor of that province in addition to Babylonia; and intrusted him with troops to besiege their common enemy Zenophilus, keeper of the royal treasury, in the citadel of Susa. He himself proceeded eastward towards Eumenes, exposed to the heat of the dogdays, and the unwholesome vapours of an alluvial soil; by which he lost many of his European soldiers. Having arrived at the Coprates, he collected boats for crossing that river, which is deep, rapid, and above fourscore fathoms broad. A considerable part of his army had already passed, and was preparing for encampment, when Eumenes, who had seized the decisive moment for crossing the more eastern stream, surprised his divided and unarmed enemies. Four thousand of them surrendered prisoners; a greater number perished in their flight and in the river; and this disaster, added to his incredible sufferings on the march, determined Antigonus to defer his long projected battle, and to leave at the mercy of his adversary the fertile province of Susiana, the splendour of its capital Susa, and the vast treasures accumulated in its citadel¹⁵.

From his encampment on the Coprates, he proceeded with as much expedition as was permitted by the heat of the season and the sickness of his troops, to the city of Bactra situate north of Susa, between the Eulæus and Choraspes. Having halted there several days for rest and refreshment, he resolved to march into Media, where his ally

¹⁴ Diodor. I. xii. s. 17.

¹⁵ Diodor. I. xii. s. 18.

CHAP. Python had still numerous partisans, and where he might be

Nature of
the road
thither.

abundantly supplied with every accommodation in point of subsistence or conveyance. But it was not easy to decide by what route he should proceed to so well provided a country. Two roads led from the northern frontier of Susiana to the celebrated parts of Media: the one, to the right, safe and easy, along winding and pleasant valleys, confined between the branching ridges of mount Coronus¹⁶, but scorched at that season by heat, and prolonged by the sinuosities of the mountain to a month's journey for an army. By this most frequented passage, he might reach the exuberant district of Choana, distinguished in ancient times by the great city Hages¹⁷, and in later times by the Mahomedan capital Rey, second only to Bagdad, and whose greatness is still conspicuous in the amplitude of its ruins¹⁸. A second and much

The Cos-
sæans

swayed rather to cold than to heat. But this shorter march conducted through the rugged country of the fierce Cossæans, who, living fearless in caves on the roots growing in their glens, and on the salted produce of the chase, had been accustomed to sell a passage through their territory to the Persian kings, and whose ferocity had been chastised, not subdued, by the arms of Alexander. Antigonus, who aspired to rival the boldness of his late master, preferred the direct and dangerous road, and disdaining the advice of Python, who was more conversant with those Barbarians, refused to purchase from them an unobscured

heron An-
tigonus' march.

passage. His proud obstinacy was severely punished. The Cossæans beat up his detached quarters; surprised his advanced parties; and by the dexterous use of their bows and slings, as well as by rolling down stones from the craggy summits of their rocks, greatly annoyed the main body of his army. At the end of nine days, he with difficulty escaped

¹⁶ Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. c. 6. and Ptolemy, l. vi. c. 1. But Wes-selingius refuses to defend his conjecture of *the Sappora*, instead of

Coronus.

¹⁷ Polyb. l. x. c. 4. Tobl. c. vi. Diodor. l. xix. s. 24.

¹⁸ Chardin and Oltor's Travels.

from those inhospitable fastnesses, having lost a great part of his force and highly offended the remainder, by needlessly exposing it to most imminent danger. But the country into which he emerged was calculated to repair, in some measure, the evils which his rashness had occasioned, and to still the angry murmurs of his troops. It lay at no great distance from the rich Nisæan plain, abounding in all necessities for an army, and whose spacious pastures were celebrated for horses unrivalled in size, beauty, and swiftness¹⁸.

Eumenes had been prevented, by dissensions among his troops, and by the arrogance of Peucestes and other generals, whose presumption swelled with success, from availing himself of the decisive advantage which he had gained on the banks of the Coprates. Upon the intelligence that their enemies had reached Media, a new flame was kindled among these insubordinate spirits, divided into two factions so equally balanced that they might have totally destroyed each other. The leaders of the Argyraspides and all those who either possessed or coveted establishments in the Asiatic peninsula, insisted on returning westward, and seizing the invaluable spoils which Antigonus had relinquished. Peucestes and Sisygambis, on the contrary, with the other satraps who had joined the army in Susiana, maintained the necessity of defending the more extensive provinces of the East, and particularly the imperial district of Persis, upon which Antigonus, after repairing his strength in Media, would be ready to pour down with resistless fury. Eumenes, though naturally inclined to the former proposal, joined the party of Peucestes, lest the army should be ruined by division; and thereby deeply offended the Argyraspides¹⁹.

From the eastern branch of the Pasitigris, the first part of Eumenes the journey towards the palaces of Pasagarda and Persepolis²¹, marches to Persis.

¹⁸ Herodot. i. vii. c. 40. Strabo, Arrhen, Diodorus. Yet Alexander's cavalry, as above mentioned, far surpassed them in speed.

¹⁹ Conf. Diodor. i. xix. a. 21. and Plut. ubi supra.

²¹ See Strabo, l. xv. p. 728, 729. and 730. Persepolis and the more

Dissensions in Eumenes' army. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

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Route
thither.Persepolis,
its antiqui-
ties, &c.
described.

lay through an adust and hollow²² country, parched with drought, scorched by intense heat, and almost destitute of provisions. But when the army approached that imperial district, the country began, at a place called the ladder²³, from the shelving ascent on which it stood, to assume a very different aspect, being open and airy, refreshed by copious streams, and beautifully diversified by hill and dale. Both sides of the road were adorned by those artificial parks, which the natives called paradises; or by forests of the finest²⁴ trees, and umbrageous vallies, whose natural beauties scorned art for an auxiliary. In fruit and game, the whole province abounded; it was also the most populous satrapy in the East, inhabited by the most²⁵ warlike nation; and that attached in affectionate duty to its governor Peucestes²⁶. But a circumstance most propitious to the central district, the seat of the ancient Pasagarda, is the salubrity of the nocturnal air, which is so totally exempt from corroding dews, that the brightest steel may be exposed to it all night long, without undergoing the smallest perceptible alteration²⁷. For thirty miles round, the country abounds with ruins, but those of Chelminar, supposed to be the ancient Persepolis, totally eclipse all the others²⁸. Chelminar, in modern Persian, denotes "the forty pillars," and the ruins, when first discovered contained that

ancient Pasagarda were both in the same district, namely, that of the Pasagarda: the most illustrious tribe of the Persians. Herodot. l. i. c. 125. Conf. Plutarch de Virtut. Mulierum, p. 246, and Strabo ubi supra.

²² This epithet is common with ancient geographers, and enters into the name Cœle-Syria, &c. Strabo, Ptolemy, passim.

²³ A town in Savoy, near the Great Chartreux, has the same name from the same situation. Other *Climaces* or ladders are found in Strabo and Ptolemy, in their geography of Syria and Cilicia.

²⁴ Mr. Franklin, in his Tour from Bengal to Persia, p. 65, mentions

cypress trees of an amazing height, which the Persians say have stood six hundred years.

²⁵ This character the inhabitants of Fars, the proper Persia, or Persis, still maintained in the time of Tamerlane. Mansour, prince of Fars, was the boldest enemy encountered by that destroying prince, between the Tigris and the Indus Cherefeddin.

²⁶ Diodor. l. xix. s. 21.

²⁷ Mr. Franklin made the experiment. See his Tour from Bengal to Persia, p. 153.

²⁸ Chardin, Le Brun, Niebuhr, Franklin, and D'Hankerville sur les Antiquités de la Perse.

number; they are now reduced to nineteen, though there are yet indications that they originally amounted to an hundred and eight²⁹. The edifice to which they belong, formed an artificial front as it were, to the mountain Rehumat, which overlooks the beautiful plain of Merdash³⁰. This ruined palace extends nearly six hundred paces in both directions, and consists of three stories, composed of immense blocks of marble piled on each other without mortar or cement, yet so nicely compacted, that the keenest eye can scarcely discern their joinings³¹. To the several stories, you ascend by marble stairs of sufficient breadth for thirty or forty persons to mount conveniently abreast. The first flight of fifty steps leads to a portico, of which four pilasters remain, about fifty feet high, carved with fabulous animals, of colossal magnitude, and with inscriptions in an ancient character, which the ablest antiquaries have not yet been able to decipher³². From the terrace supporting this portico, you ascend to the second story, adorned by colonnades of majestic Iostings, and conducting to various apartments, of which the inmost are raised on a third terrace, and their walls carved with the strange quadrupeds above mentioned; and with processions of human figures, some in flowing robes, others in succinct military garb. Behind this third story, and artfully cut in the native rock, you find two square chambers, of which the use may be suspected, from their resemblance to four others at Nackshi Rustan, eight miles north-east of Chelminar. The former of these monuments consists of four apartments, excavated in a steep rock, and universally regarded as sepulchres of ancient kings. They contain bas-reliefs and inscriptions nearly coinciding with those at Chelminar, and equally inexplicable. The modern Persians, by an easy solution,

²⁹ D'Hankerville, p. 135.

³⁰ Franklin, p. 202.

³¹ Conf. Voyage de Chardin, tom. ii. p. 200, & seq. and Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 120, & seq.

³² These inscriptions are mixed with others of a far more recent date, bearing a reference to the dynasty of the Sassanides, who having

supplanted the Parthians, governed Persia from An. Dom. 226, till they were destroyed by the Arabs, An. Dom. 638. See de Sacy *Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse*. Paris, 1793. There are also later inscriptions belonging to the times of the Caliphs, in the usual strain of Mahomedan piety.

machinery, to be deposited in sack, and inaccessible monuments³⁸, a circumstance well agreeing with the artificial caverns above mentioned: and which is farther confirmed by the report that these caverns were depositories of hidden treasure, since the custom of burying money with the dead, is said to have passed from Asia to Europe, and is, certainly alike conformable to the superstition sacredly prevalent in both continents³⁹.

This sacred spot, the Persians, as we have seen, had been at peculiar pains to defend. By an expedient above mentioned, they could summon to it in one day, the whole force of the circumjacent country. The same arrangements for defence were still upheld by Paxeotes, who had now governed Persis above seven years with much reputation, but who had no sooner decayed the Greeks into his province, than he began to throw off the mask which had long concealed his unworthiness. His popular manners and generosity had gained the Persians; his military frankness and courage had deceived Alexander. By the ostentatious display of the same quali-

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Paxeotes' festival.

³⁸ Diodorus, l. xvii. s. 71. This applies to the Kings after Cyrus, mentioned by Ctesias, for that prince, though buried in the same district, was entombed in a lofty tower embowered amidst thick trees, Strabo, l. xv. p. 730, and Arrian, l. vi. c. 29. The Persians, as well as the Egyptians, called the tomb their eternal dwelling. Zendavesta, l. i. c. 27. On which Mr. Heeren has built an ingenious theory for explaining the nature and design of the palaces of Pasargada or Persepolis, since he considers them as one and the same place, whose ruins still remain at Chelminar. He thinks, that being the tombs, they are also the palaces of the deceased kings of Persia, provided with all the accommodations and luxuries which those princes enjoyed during life; with a large treasury and

troops to guard it; and even with a harem, of which he adduces as a proof, the multitude of fine women, and vast quantities of female attire found there by Alexander. Diodor. l. xvii. s. 72. In conformity with this system, he regards the carvings on the walls, as a picture of the court and empire of Persia. Heeren Ideen über die Politik, &c. p. 194. & seq. D'Hankerville sur les Antiquités de la Perse, gives a quite different and far less interesting explanation of the same monuments.

³⁹ Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscrip. tom. xvi. p. 131. M. D'Hankerville justly maintains that the custom of burying new coins with the dead, accounts for the vast number of ancient medals in perfect preservation, notwithstanding their high relief. Arts de la Grèce, v. ii. p. 40. & seq.

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ties, he endeavoured to win from Eumenes the affections of the soldiery, and particularly of the Macedonian veterans. For this purpose he proclaimed a sacrifice and festival for the European army, and the nobler portion of his Asiatic subjects; and before the day arrived had taken measures for distinguishing this solemnity above other entertainments of a similar kind, by its regularity as well as its sumptuousness. Round the altars of the gods, and in four concentric circles, the numerous guests were arranged in such order, and so skilfully attended, that the vastness of the multitude occasioned neither confusion nor delay. The outmost circle, a mile in circumference, was occupied by the mercenaries and allies; the second, extending eight stadia, was assigned to the Argyraspides, and the other bodies of infantry who had served under Alexander ⁴⁰; the third of four stadia was appropriated to officers subordinate in command, the *companions*, and other select troops of horsemen; the inmost circle contained the commanders of the several divisions of horse and foot, together with the most distinguished of the Persian nobility. In the middle of the whole inclosure, the altars of Philip and Alexander shone conspicuous among those of the older divinities. The guests commodiously reposed on couches of twisted leaves and osier, overhung with awnings, and profusely strowed with the richest carpets of Persia ⁴¹.

By which
he endeavours
to seduce the
army from
its allegiance.
Olymp.
cxvi. 1. B.
C. 316.

This entertainment highly congenial to the taste of the Greeks and Macedonians, was farther recommended by the cordial politeness of the master of the feast; which soon met its reward in the undisguised gratitude of the troops. Encouraged by Sybyrtius, satrap of Arachosia, and a creature of Peucestes, they began warmly to declare, that the man who had saved the life of Alexander, and attained the highest rank by the highest of all services, was alone worthy to command them. Eumenes had discovered the intrigues of

⁴⁰ I cannot adopt Wesselingius' conjecture of *τραίπον* instead of *ιρι-
γον*. The *ιριγον* refers to the other
bodies of the hypaspists, who were
the same kind of troops with the

Argyraspides: the *ιριγον* are included among the horsemen mentioned immediately afterwards.

⁴¹ Diodor. l. xix. s. 22.

his rival, and foreseen this dangerous defection. In order to countermine the plot, he produced forged letters from Orontes, governor of Armenia, and a warm friend to Peucestes, containing in few words, that the kings and Polysperchon had fully reestablished their authority in Europe; that Cassander, their most formidable enemy, was dead; and that a Macedonian army had crossed the Hellespont to cooperate with the exertions of a general, in whose courage and conduct the lawful successors of Alexander continued firmly to confide. This advice industriously circulated through the whole assembly, produced a return to loyalty, not less universal than sudden; of which Eumenes availed himself to accuse Sibyrtius of treason, and thereby compelled that seditious satrap to consult his personal safety by flight. The success of his first stratagem encouraged the artful secretary to employ another often practised by his master Philip. In the midst of opulence, he pretended great want of money for the public service, and borrowed, in the name of the kings, large sums at high interest, from Antigenes, Eudamus, and other generals; whose fidelity he was most solicitous to secure ⁴².

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V.
Eumenes
defeats his
designs.

Meanwhile some Medes, actuated by hostility to Python rather than by zeal in the royal cause, brought advice of Antigonos's preparations for entering the province of Peucestes. Eumenes, instead of waiting for the invaders in Persis, determined to encounter them on their march thither. Towards the commencement of his expedition, he sacrificed to the gods and gave a public entertainment, in which having rivalled the popular magnificence of Peucestes, he unfortunately imitated the intemperance of Alexander. This unseasonable debauch first suspended his march, and afterwards obliged him to be conveyed in a litter in the rear of the army. In such a disgraceful situation, he was informed by his scouts,

Meets An-
tigonos on
the frontier
of Persis.

⁴² Diodor. l. xix. s. 23. Cæsar had one of the most trying emergencies recourse to the same stratagem for of the civil war. De Bell. Civil. l. i. securing the fidelity of his army in c. 39.

CHAP. that his enemies were advancing from the foot of the Para-
 V. tacene mountains to the barren frontier of Persis and Media,

two rival and often hostile provinces. In less than twenty-four hours their advanced guard made its appearance in regular array; for Antigonus had quickened their march upon learning from deserters his adversary's indisposition. Antigones and Peucestes then led the van; but their troops had no sooner beheld the enemy, than they called aloud for Eumenes. He hastened to their aid; and undrawing the curtains of his litter, was welcomed by the clangor of arms, and a salute in the Macedonian tongue: his presence had restored their spirits, and the precision of his orders skilfully arrayed them for battle. Their sudden alacrity astonished Antigonus, till espying the litter of Eumenes gliding briskly along the line, he exclaimed with his usual burst of loud laughter, "behold the machine which has produced these wonderful movements ⁴³." Having expected to surprise the enemy, he thought proper to decline an immediate engagement; and Eumenes perceiving the roughness of the intervening ground, did not molest his retreat, nor afterwards disturb his encampment.

Antigonus's embassy to the camp of Eumenes.

The armies thus remained four days within half a mile of each other, when, on the fifth, Antigonus sent an embassy to the satraps and other officers in the hostile camp, promising to maintain the former in their respective provinces, to grant lands and appointments to the latter; to take their troops into his immediate pay, and to send home, at his own expense, those Greeks and Macedonians who wished to revisit their native country. The admission of such an embassy, proved that Eumenes, however admired as a general, was not absolute as a master. But the propositions of Antigonus were rejected, his ambassadors were threatened; and Eumenes, while he allowed them to depart in safety, taught his soldiers, by an apologue, to applaud their own prudence in eluding the snare which had been laid for them. "A lion," he said, "loved a virgin, whose father opposed their marriage

⁴³ Plutarch in Eumen.

lest any domestic dissension arising, the lion might be tempted to make too fierce an application of his claws and teeth; to obviate which objection, the amorous savage deprived himself of those formidable weapons, when, on the renewal of his petition, the father of the virgin attacked and killed him with a club. In the same manner would you have been treated by Antigonus, had you hearkened to his proposal and parted with your strength ⁴⁴.”

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On the day following, Eumenes was informed by deserters, that the enemy purposed to decamp at the second watch of the night. He justly suspected their intention of escaping to the fertile district of Gabiena in Elymais ⁴⁵, watered by the upper part of the Eulæus. To anticipate this measure, he sent pretended deserters to Antigonus, with information that his lines would be attacked in the evening. While this intelligence obliged Antigonus to prepare for a battle instead of a retreat, Eumenes suddenly decamped; and proceeding with silence and celerity in the direction of Gabiena, gained an advance of six hours' march ⁴⁶, before the enemy was apprised of his departure. Antigonus pursued with such speed as would have overtaken a less diligent adversary; but could not recover his lost ground, until he had recourse to an artifice, rivalling the dexterity by which he had been distanced. Committing the infantry to Python, he drove forward at full speed with his cavalry; and continuing his pursuit all night, formed at dawn in such complete order, on the side of a hill near to which the enemy had to pass, that Eumenes perceiving his dispositions, never doubted that his whole force was at hand. He therefore commanded a halt, and prepared for an engagement. Antigonus' infantry meanwhile advanced with a rapid and well regulated motion; and a battle, which had been long avoided by the skill or caution of both generals, the success of their mutual stratagems now rendered inevitable.

Their mutual stratagems

render a battle inevitable.

⁴⁴ Diodor. l. xix. s. 25.

⁴⁵ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1080.

⁴⁶ Diodorus, as we shall see be-

low, divides the night into three watches; by two of which Eumenes had got the start of the enemy.

CHAP. V. Of all useless writing, and of all tiresome reading, there is none more obnoxious than the prolix detail of vulgar battles, fought by ordinary generals. But the struggle between Antigonus and Eumenes was an emulous exertion of talent, perpetually varied on one side, and successfully encountered on the other. In the present instance, too, their strength was pretty equally balanced; Antigonus having twenty-eight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-five elephants; and Eumenes, though inferior to him by one-third in horse and foot, yet, commanding an hundred and twenty-five elephants, then deemed most important auxiliaries; and what was of infinitely more real value, a body of three thousand veterans, perfected by experience, elated by military honours, confident in their own energy, and from unchequered success, despising every enemy. His left wing Eumenes committed to Eudamus, who had brought with him a select troop ⁴⁷ of horse as well as the elephants from India. Eudamus was reinforced by the cavalry under Stasander and Amphimachus ⁴⁸, respectively satraps of Aria and Mesopotamia; by Cephalo, who had been substituted instead of the traitor Sibyrtius, to the command of the Arachosians; by five hundred horse from Paropamisus, and an equal number of Thracians from the Danube. The whole wing was covered in front by a crescent of forty elephants, intermixed with slingers and archers. The main body adjoining to this wing was composed, as usual, of the heavy-armed infantry, eleven thousand in number, of which one half, though drawn from a wide variety of nations, were equipped in the Macedonian fashion. The *hypaspists* stood next, a lighter infantry, amounting to six thousand, of whom the *Argyraspides*, those distinguished veterans just mentioned, immediately flanked the heavy armed phalanx. This whole mass of infantry was also fronted by a

⁴⁷ This troop is also called *αγῆμα* by Diodorus.

⁴⁸ Amphimachus, of whose junction with Eumenes, no mention is

before made, had succeeded to Arcesilaus, the first Greek satrap of Mesopotamia. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 3.

bulwark of forty elephants. On the right wing Peucestes and Tlepolemus, satraps of Persis and Carmania, commanded their respective cavalry: they were flanked by Eumenes at the head of the *companions*, and other select troops of horse; the general choosing on this occasion the same post which had been always occupied by his master Alexander. This right wing, in which he greatly confided, was fronted by a line of forty-five elephants distinguished by their strength and fierceness.

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The superiority of Eumenes in elephants determined Antigonus's arrangement. His left wing, destined rather for show than effect, was filled up with equestrian archers, and other horsemen armed with spears, two thousand five hundred Tarentines trained to loose skirmish, and Thracian vaulters leading respectively several horses, which they used by turns in their desultory assaults. The whole of this wing was intrusted to Python, satrap of Media, from whose province most of the cavalry had been drawn; and who was enjoined to harass Eumenes' right wing with a Scythian-like combat, often remitted and often renewed, incapable, indeed, of making any decisive impression, yet calculated to occupy that important division of the enemy. These irregulars were followed by the phalanx, consisting of nine thousand mercenaries; eleven thousand Lycians and Pamphylians, and other nations of Lower Asia, armed after the Macedonian fashion; and last of all eight thousand Macedonians. Antigonus, as well as Eumenes, assumed for his own post the command of his right wing, composed of the choice of his cavalry, particularly the *companions*⁴⁹ commanded by his son Demetrius, and the first troop of which was headed⁵⁰ immediately by himself. This wing was fronted by the best of his elephants. The remainder defended his infantry; a very few only were placed in his left wing.

⁴⁹ The *companions* denoted under Alexander a particular body of men; but under his successors, who formed their armies as much as possible on their master's model, the same technical term denoted different bodies of men in different

armies, all bearing the same name, because performing the same functions.

⁵⁰ The *αγῆμα*, otherwise called the *πρὸς βασιλῆα*, because usually commanded by Alexander in person.

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When the adverse armies had approached in this order within a proper distance of each other, the signal was raised on high, the troops shouted alternately, the trumpets sounded a charge. The irregulars in Antigonus' left performed successfully their appointed service; and availing themselves of their velocity and numbers, harassed the enemy's flank, galling the elephants with their arrows, and after eluding their pursuit, again renewing the same desultory combat. But Eumenes seasonably drew a reinforcement of cavalry from his left; and by a vigorous charge, the more terrible, because followed by his elephants, dissipated those hovering clouds and pursued them towards the mountains. Meanwhile the infantry engaged with great spirit; the ardour on the weaker side, being inflamed to enthusiasm by the conscious worth of the Argyraspides, who upbraided their adversaries, as wretches who combated their fathers. The rapidity of this select body was equal to its firmness; and wherever these veterans assailed, their exertions were decisive. Antigonus, when both his main body and his left wing had given way, was advised to move towards the mountains and endeavour to cover the retreat. But the impetuosity of the Argyraspides in urging the pursuit, had left unsupported the division commanded by Eudamus. Antigonus seized the decisive moment; rushed into the opening with the flower of his cavalry, and by an attack in flank put to rout the whole of this left wing. The swiftest of his horse were despatched to collect his own fugitives, whom the alternation of victory enabled him to rally and form at the foot of the mountains. Eumenes perceiving the defeat of his left wing, returned with his cavalry from the pursuit, and also recalled his infantry. Before either army was again prepared for battle, night had come on; but it was then full moon; the sky was clear and serene; and the hostile lines stood so near to each other⁵¹, that they could mutually perceive the distinct

⁵¹ Only four *παλῆς* asunder, that is, 400 feet; but the *παλῆς*, as a measure of length, is estimated differently by Suidas and Hesychius.

flashes of adverse steel, and hear the clang of weapons, the CHAP.
neighing of horses, and the roaring of elephants. V.

Eumenes, whose loss of men had been inconsiderable, compared with that of his opponent, might have renewed the engagement with advantage; but he was overruled in this purpose by the mutinous temper of his troops, as well as in the design of moving to the left that he might have an opportunity of interring the slain⁵². The Argyraspides, whose piety had diminished as much as their avarice had increased, during their long warfare in the East, preferred to a duty deemed most sacred by the Greeks, the care of their baggage and booty, the rich fruits of their Asiatic victories. Their unalterable obstinacy decided the resolution of the whole army, which proceeded with them towards the baggage, while Antigonus moved in an opposite direction, and encamped near the scene of action; by which means he gained an opportunity of burying his slain next morning, whereas Eumenes was reduced to the necessity of craving leave to perform that indispensable ceremony. His herald sent with this view to Antigonus, was detained by him the greater part of the day, and dismissed with the permission of returning next morning. But by this time, Antigonus having sent his wounded, above four thousand in number, and the heaviest part of his baggage, into some neighbouring villages, had secretly decamped, and was hastening to the fertile district of Gamorga in Media. Eumenes, whose men were tired and discontented, did not attempt to pursue the enemy, but immediately began to perform the obsequies of the dead, five hundred and forty foot, and a few horsemen. During this sad solemnity, two Indian women who had lost their common husband Ceteus, an officer of distinction among the Indian auxiliaries, exhibited a new spectacle to the Greeks, by disputing the honour of being burnt alive on his funeral pile. As the elder was discovered to be with child, her rival gained

Burial of
the slain.

Singular
contention
between
two Indian
women.

⁵² Diodorus, l. xix. s. 31.

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Antigonus's bold and dexterous march.

After the funeral solemnity, Eumenes prepared for marching from the inhospitable neighbourhood of the Paratacene mountains; and for fixing, according to his first resolution, his winter-quarters in Gabiena, a district not yet foraged by either party, and well calculated both for refreshment and security. He advanced successfully and encamped at his journey's end. In this position his army by the ordinary route was distant twenty-five marches from Antigonus's post in Gamorga; but there was a much nearer road between them, of only nine marches, through an intricate and desert country, almost destitute of water. While both parties continued in their winter quarters, Antigonus learned that great discontents prevailed among his enemies, their generals disagreeing about the command, the soldiers unwilling to obey, and that various bodies of troops, discordant in their minds, had widely separated their cantonments. Upon this information, having determined to surprise their nearest posts, he industriously gave out that he intended to move towards Armenia, but collected necessities for a far more dangerous

⁵³ Diodor. l. xix. s. 34.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

journey; consisting in ten day's provisions of that kind, which required not any preparation by fire⁵⁵. Having no other incumbrance, he marched five days without striking a light, through the unfrequented and dreary region above mentioned, totally unobserved by the thinly scattered inhabitants of the distant mountains. But his soldiers growing weary of a precaution which their presumption deemed superfluous, finally alarmed by a nocturnal light the remote villagers; one of whom mounting his dromedary, which could travel a hundred and thirty miles in twenty-four hours, seasonably apprised Eumenes of his unforeseen danger.

The troops of this general were scattered over a distance of six marches; and Peucestes, who was stationed near the skirts of the country through which the enemy had to pass, proposed to fall back on the remoter cantonments. Eumenes, who apprehended lest this movement should discourage the troops, and who wished to meet his opponents as they emerged from the fatigues of the desert, devised an expedient for stopping their progress until his own army should have time to assemble in full force. With this view he selected a sufficient body of men, equipped for expedition, which he commanded to follow him, well provided with fire-pots. This body he diffused over the space of six miles, on the side of a mountain conspicuously situate with regard to the enemy's route, with orders to make large fires at the first watch of the night, to diminish them at the second, and to allow them towards the third gradually to extinguish, so as to afford to spectators at a distance the appearance of a real encampment. Such it was thought by the inhabitants of the opposite mountains who first beheld it, and such it was declared by Antigonus and Python, who firmly believed that the vigilance of Eumenes, having discovered their line of march, had caught them in their own snare. In order to avoid an action with the enemy's whole force,

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Eumenes'
stratagem
stops the
progress of
the enemy.

⁵⁵ The *citra arupa* of Diodorus Polyzenus, l. viii. c. 16. and by Suidas are mentioned by Plutarch in Serapion, and de Gloria Athen. and by

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after the fatigues of a long and laborious march, Antigonus led off his army towards a well-cultivated country on his right; a movement begun with much circumspection, but continued without the appearance of any forces to intercept his stragglers or to harass his rear. From this circumstance, he began to suspect that his fears had deceived him; and his suspicion was converted into certainty by the people of the adjacent district, who told him that they had not seen any great army, and only a few companies of soldiers scattered at great distances, who made fires on the hills.

His precaution saves the detachment escorting the elephants.

Stung with indignation at losing the fruits of his painful but well concerted expedition, Antigonus advanced furiously against those soldiers, that, although he could no longer hope to surprise the first and main objects of his hostility, he might at least wreak his vengeance on the authors of his disappointment. But this design was also defeated by the celerity of his rival, whose scattered divisions had already been drawn from their quarters, and collected into one camp, judiciously chosen and strongly fortified. Antigonus with these mortifying circumstances, learned, however, that the enemy's elephants were still behind. To intercept these stout auxiliaries, in whose numbers Eumenes most surpassed him, he immediately despatched the whole of his light infantry, with a due proportion of horsemen, chiefly Medes and Tarentines. This active body of troops, intercepted, attacked, and routed the detachment of hostile cavalry accompanying the elephants, while these ponderous animals, who formed an oblong, inclosing the baggage, continually received wounds which their conductors were unable to retort. But during this disastrous combat, a sudden reinforcement came to their rescue, most seasonably despatched by Eumenes, who, though he knew not the measures of Antigonus, yet knowing his own duty as a general, anticipated a probable evil, by providing an assured remedy.

Conspiracy formed against him;

The illustrious merit of the commander which increased the general admiration of the troops, envenomed into deadly

hatred the envy of their leaders. Under the immediate apprehension of a battle, for the hostile armies had encamped at an interval of only four miles, and Antigonus longed to decide this obstinate contest, the haughty Peucestes, and the turbulent Teutamus, conspired against the life of Eumenes, whose just preëminence was singularly attested by those rancorous enemies, since they agreed to defer his murder, till he had defeated their common foe. The conspiracy was revealed to him by other generals, who had been invited to join in it; and who were withheld from that measure, not by such affectionate duty as the kind courtesy of Eumenes peculiarly merited, but merely through the fear of losing by his death, the money which they had lent to him at high interest⁵⁶. Upon this distressing information, he lamented his hard lot in living among wild beasts; and retired sad and solitary to his tent, where he wrote his testament, and burned such of his papers, as might have endangered the persons who had communicated to him any matters of secret intelligence. Whatever might be the consequence to himself, he determined to resist Antigonus, the enemy of his revered master's house; and with an alacrity of countenance, marking a heart void of care, prepared with consummate skill for his last fatal victory⁵⁷.

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Since the former battle on the Median frontier, he had received some reinforcements, which rendered him in point of infantry, superior to the enemy: but he was still inferior by one third in horse. Antigonus's army had been again recruited to nearly twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand horse, and sixty-five elephants. Accompanied by his son Demetrius, that general took the command of his right wing; his left was committed to Python: his infantry formed the centre, covered in front by the elephants. To oppose Antigonus in person, Eumenes, contrary to the usual practice, assumed the command of his left, consisting of the choice of his cavalry, and supported by auxiliaries under the bravest

The last
battle be-
tween An-
tigonus and
Eumenes.

⁵⁶ Plutarch in Eumen.

⁵⁷ Id. *ibid.* and Diodor. l. xix. s. 40.

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satraps, particularly Mithridates of Pontus. His left wing was fronted by sixty of his stoutest elephants. His infantry which followed, consisted of three divisions; the hypaspists on the left; the phalanx on the right; and the Argyraspides in the middle, prepared to move with celerity to every part of the line, where they saw a difficulty to surmount, or a desperate adversary to encounter. In his right wing, Eumenes placed under Philip, satrap of Bactria⁵⁸, the least serviceable part of his cavalry and elephants in a diverging line, ordering its commander to occupy, if possible, the opposing division of the enemy, but chiefly to watch the issue of the contest. Before the signal for charge was given on either side, the Argyraspides sent a herald on horseback, to reproach their adversaries with disloyalty and parricide, and at the same time hurled against them a furious defiance, which as much encouraged the one army as it terrified the other. When the trumpets sounded, the troops of Eumenes charged with intrepid alacrity; and his elephants had been roused to such fury, that the foremost fell by the stroke which its impetuous weight had inflicted⁵⁹. But Antigonus' great superiority in horse began to make the more decisive impression on Eumenes' left wing, as that general, while exerting himself with the utmost bravery, was feebly supported by Peucestes and other satraps, envious of his glory, and enemies to his person. The battle might have been lost irretrievably, had not the exertions of the Argyraspides surpassed every thing most memorable in the annals of heroism. With invincible perseverance, those veterans who were some of them above seventy years old, and few under sixty, successively attacked, and either repelled or cut down, every part of the opposing line: and without the loss of a single man, (such was the perfection of their armour and their skill) destroyed above five thousand of their foes⁶⁰; a circumstance wonderful as it appears, not altogether incredible, because in the close combats of infantry, the nature of

⁵⁸ Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 3. and l. xix. s. 40.

⁵⁹ Diodor. l. xix. s. 42.

⁶⁰ Diodor. l. xix. s. 43.

ancient weapons leaving no alternative between a skirmish and a bloody rout, might produce dreadful havoc among the vanquished, with little or no loss to the victors.

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Meanwhile, Eumenes had drawn a reinforcement from his right wing, hoping to renew the equestrian combat. But in this he was disappointed by an unforeseen disaster, which produced speedily his own ruin, and eventually the ruin of the royal cause. It happened that the field of battle was covered with a fine sand, impregnated with salt, which being raised on high, by the trampling of the horses, was carried in a thick cloud towards the left of Eumenes' line, intercepting all prospect in that direction. Of this circumstance Antigonus had availed himself even in the heat of action, to detach secretly his active Medes and fleet Tarentines, who had turned unperceived the enemy's left, overpowered the feeble guard which defended their women and baggage, and rendered themselves completely masters of both. This event mortifying to all, provoked the Argyraspides to madness. In vain, they said, their valour had been exerted in defeating Antigonus' infantry; his horse had stripped them of the fruits of twenty victorious campaigns, and had robbed them of their wives and children⁶¹.

Incident which provoked the Argyraspides and made them revolt to Antigonus.

The situation of Eumenes was deplorable. A dark conspiracy hung over his head: his allied satraps alarmed for their particular safety, were anxious to fly to their respective provinces: his cavalry had severely suffered in the action; and his victorious infantry refused to renew the attack; but forming themselves into an oblong, presented on all sides defiance and terror, to any force by which they might be assailed. They reproached the cowardice of their own cavalry, they arraigned the defection of Peucestes, they accused the neglect of their general. In vain, Eumenes endeavoured to convince them, that by improving their victory, they might still recover all that was lost. They insulted him as a vile Thracian; and to receive back the dearest objects

Eumenes seized and slain.

⁶¹ Diodor. et Plut. ubi supra.

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of their affections uninjured, were prepared to accept an accommodation on any terms with Antigonus. To make their peace with that general, who withdrew his cavalry at the approach of night, the Argyraspides, on the suggestion of Teutamius, leader in every mischief, embraced the flagitious resolution of disarming and seizing their commander; regardless of his incomparable merit, and of the commission which he then bore, under the lawful representatives of their late sovereign⁶².

Death of
Eumenes
and fate of
his ad-
herents.
Olymp.
cxiv. 1. B.
C. 316.

Eumenes was thus delivered into the hands of an ancient friend, whom disloyalty to the house of Alexander, had converted into an implacable enemy. Demetrius, the accomplished son of Antigonus, and Nearchus, justly famous for his voyage from the Indus to the Tigris, warmly interceded for the life of Eumenes⁶³, whose merits their own enabled them duly to appreciate. But Antigonus was swayed by policy alone, he knew that Eumenes, while he lived would resist his usurpation; and the insolent Argyraspides, as well as the perfidious satraps urged the death of a man whom they had most cruelly injured⁶⁴. Of all Alexander's captains, Eumenes died the youngest; though of them all, he was the worthiest of a long and prosperous life. From the age of twenty, he had officiated seven years as secretary to Philip: in the same capacity he served Alexander thirteen years, and died eight years after the latter prince⁶⁵, at the age of forty-eight, in an honourable warfare for preserving the crown in his master's family. His letters continued extant in the beginning of the second century, and attested a mind that united with great elevation and energy, the milder and gentler virtues: indulgent humanity, cordial friendship, a natural and persuasive eloquence⁶⁶. His friend and fellow citizen, Hieronymus of Cardia,

⁶² Diodor. l. xix. s. 43. and Plutarch in Eumen.

⁶³ Idem ibid.

⁶⁴ Plutarch and Nepos have added some circumstances not very consistent with indubitable matters of fact; and thrown in by way of

embellishment, or with a view to palliate the cruelty of Antigonus.

⁶⁵ The number in Nepos is forty-five: but it must be erroneous even by his own computation. Conf. Nepos in Eumen. and Diodor. l. xix. s. 42.

⁶⁶ Plutarch in Eumen.

a town in the Thracian Chersonesus, who had been wounded and taken prisoner in the battle, sacrificed resentment to interest, and after the death of Eumenes, passed into the protection and confidence of his fortunate rival⁶⁷. Yet Jerom appears to have retained a strong and just predilection in favour of his earlier patron; and from his history of Alexander's successors, we have been enabled to describe those memorable campaigns, and to relate those splendid achievements, which in consideration of the upright purposes to which they were invariably directed, raise the fair fame of the Cardian above all contemporary renown. The fate of Eumenes involved that of Eudamus, Cephalo, and Antigenes; the only generals who disdained submission to Antigonos. Antigenes, who maintained unshaken loyalty, amidst the unanimous defection of the Argyraspides, was distinguished by the inhuman cruelty of his punishment: being nailed up in a coffer, he was burnt alive⁶⁸. The monster who perpetrated this horrid act of vengeance, celebrated with decent sorrow the obsequies of Eumenes; and sent his ashes, inclosed in a silver urn, to his disconsolate wife and deploring kindred⁶⁹; a present, which had not superstition cherished, nature might have spurned as an insult.

⁶⁷ Diodor. l. xix. s. 44.

⁶⁸ Id. *ibid.* Two stories are told of Antigenes, which, though little honourable to him in other respects, serve to account for his invincible loyalty. When Alexander paid the debts of his soldiers, Antigenes pretended to owe a larger sum than was really due by him, and got a banker or merchant accompanying the army, to attest his lie by a false receipt. The fraud was detected; Antigenes was cashiered; but his disgrace being likely to break his heart, Alexander restored him to his rank, and even desired him to retain the money, that had overcome his honesty, as the reward of his conspicuous valour. Plut. in

Alexand. p. 590. On another occasion, Antigenes procured his registration among the old and wounded, who were to be conducted back to Greece. The king, unwilling to part with him, desired to know his real motive for wishing to retire. Antigenes acknowledged that he could not bear separation from Telesippè. "Who, Alexander said, is the woman, and to whom does she belong?" Antigenes answered, "she belongs to no one, but is her own mistress." "That being the case," rejoined the king, "we shall contrive means for making her remain with us." Plutarch de Fortun. Alexand. l. ii. p. 339.

⁶⁹ Plut. and Diodor.

CHAPTER VI.

Antigonus usurps the Protectorship. His cruel Policy. He destroys the Argyraspides. Murders Python and Peucestes. Invades Babylonia. Seleucus' Flight into Egypt. Wars in Lesser Asia, in Greece, and in Thrace. Antigonus' vast Projects. Battles of Gaza and Myonæ. Egyptians expelled from Syria. The Nabathæan Arabs. Their History and Institutions. Ill Success of Demetrius against them. Seleucus recovers Babylonia. Era of the Kingdom of the Greeks. General Peace.

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Antigonus
usurps the
protector-
ship in
Asia.
Olymp.
cxvi. 1.
B. C. 316.

FROM the death of Alexander to that of Eumenes, only eight years had elapsed; but that narrow span is wonderfully magnified in fancy, by the multiplicity of events, the variety of actors, and the importance of revolutions. The protectoral sceptre, which had been feebly sustained by the old age of Antipater, which had trembled in the hands of Python and Aridæus, and which had just dropped from those of Polysperchon, was a two-edged and bloody sword when wielded by the stern Perdiccas, and the still fiercer Antigonus, respectively the first, and last, who held it. When Polysperchon appointed Eumenes imperial commander in Asia, he promised to assist him if necessary, with a great European army. But he was so little qualified to fulfil this promise, that he soon found his inability to defend Macedon itself against the activity of Cassander, Antigonus' ally. The destruction of Eumenes, and the disgrace of Polysperchon, determined Antigonus to assume their united offices without any other authority than that of his own army. By a previous arrangement of Antipater, indeed, he had been named his lieutenant in the East. He seemed willing to avail himself of this obsolete commission; but in exerci-

sing the office of lieutenant to the protector, he usurped the whole power of the protectorship itself¹, and abused it as we shall see presently, with manifest injustice, and execrable cruelty.

Having reinforced his army with the treacherous deserters from Eumenes, he determined to quit the inhospitable mountains of Elymais and to winter in Media. In that noble province, he occupied the fertile district of Ragas, still recognisable in the modern name of Rey, probably derived from the oriental Raga², but believed by the Greeks to denote the *rending*³ earthquake, which totally changed the aspect of the circumjacent country; levelling mountains, scooping out lakes, obstructing rivers, and producing new mountains, lakes, and rivers, in the stead of those which had vanished. This earthquake is said to have overwhelmed many cities⁴, and two thousand villages. The labours of man were repaired; but the changes in the face of nature have been permanent, and not altogether useless, could we believe that the important defile, called the Caspian Gates, connecting that inland sea with the central provinces of Asia, was the salutary effect of this dreadful convulsion⁵.

Immediately after his inglorious victory, Antigonus had punished with death the intrepid fidelity of Antigenes. Other loyalists of less renown shared the same fate, particularly Eudamus, who commanded the detachment from India. While he thus punished his enemies, he determined also to disincumber himself of all suspicious friends. The *Argyraspides*, to whose treachery he was so deeply indebted, seemed likely to occasion more mischief by mutiny, than benefit by bravery. They were artfully disembodied: and committed in divisions to Sibyrtius, governor of Arachosia, and

¹ Diodorus, l. xix. a. 48.

² Translated Rages, book of Tobit, c. i. v. 14. and c. iv. v. 1.

³ *Ραγας* fissura, Strabo, l. xi. p. 785.

⁴ *Πολις συχνας*. Diodorus, l. xix. s. 46. and Strabo, l. i. p. 103. and l. xi. p. 783.

⁵ See D'Hankerville, *Origine des Arts de la Grece*, v. ii. c. 2.

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other obscure satraps, with strict injunctions, that their courageous old age should be consumed by danger and labour, so that they might never again collect into any formidable force. In this manner an important division of the veteran army of Alexander melted away in Asia, without obtaining its fond wish of revisiting the beloved shores of Greece and Macedon⁶.

Deception
and death
of Python.

Antigonus had been joined by two generals of the name of Python; one the son of Crateas, the other of Agenor. The son of Agenor reinforced, as we have seen, his old friend Antigonus, at the same time that Eudamus, joint superintendent over Indian affairs, brought a considerable addition to the royal army. This Python continued thenceforward a steadfast adherent to Antigonus, and was one of his ablest officers. But Python the son of Crateas, who had formerly shared the protectorship, and recently as governor of Media aspired to empire in the East, was not of a temper to act tamely a second part. While Antigonus occupied the fertile country adjacent to Ragas, Python fixed his quarters at a distance near the southern extremity of Media; and availing himself of the resources of a country, in which he had many adherents, began to cabal against a master whose severity to others he had witnessed, and whose speedy vengeance he was himself destined to experience. The crafty tyrant affected to disbelieve any unfavourable reports of so gallant an officer, and so meritorious a coadjutor. He industriously announced his intention of marching into Lower Asia, and rewarding the services of his friend with supreme command in the eastern provinces. This purpose was declared to Python himself, in a letter containing warm expressions of affection, and presenting to his lofty thoughts the most bewitching prospects. Caught in an ambush which

⁶ Polyænus, l. iv. c. 6. Voc. Antigon. Diodorus, l. xix. s. 48. Plutarch in Eumen. vers. finem. Diodorus observes, "that impious deeds, however useful to men in power, as

subservient to their ambition, generally prove ruinous to the instruments by whom they are perpetrated."

the blindness of ambition only could conceal from him, Python hastened to join the standard of Antigonus, and to meet his fate. In one short day he was accused, condemned, and executed. His rich satrapy was bestowed on Orontabates, a Mede, controlled however, by the Macedonian Hippastratus, commanding three thousand five hundred of his warlike countrymen. Having made this arrangement for governing the finest province of the empire, Antigonus proceeded to Ecbatana, the capital of Media, drew five thousand talents from the treasury in its citadel; and prepared for a laborious march of twenty-five days to Pasargarda, the imperial district of Persia⁷.

Peucestes, the satrap of that country, had no sooner learned the defection of the Argyraspides after Eumenes' last battle, than he surrendered himself to Antigonus with ten thousand Persians. He now accompanied the conqueror in firm hopes of being reinstated by him in his province. But Antigonus had far other views; in which he was confirmed on beholding the populousness and plenty of this favoured land, which, under the Persian dynasty, had been cherished with paternal affection, and adorned with royal munificence. Its inhabitants, ostentatious and vain of their preeminence, delighted in the expensive splendour of Peucestes, which recalled to them the memory of their ancient kings. Notwithstanding many odious vices, the satrap of Persia had carefully followed Alexander's maxim of humouring the prejudices of his subjects. His adoption of their dress and fashions gained him great popularity. Antigonus therefore determined that this satrap should no longer govern them. Asclepiodorus, a creature of his own, was substituted to Peucestes: the change excited faint murmurs among a people inured to despotism; while the deposed governor himself, partly deceived by vain hopes, and partly intimidated through Anti-

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Antigonus' march to Susa through Persia, destruction of Peucestes. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

⁷ Diodorus, l. xix. s. 46.

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gonus' resistless power, condescended to follow the standard of his oppressor towards Susiana³, and is thenceforward unnoticed in history. Python and Peucestes were officers of the highest rank in Alexander's service; the latter being a *lifeguard*, and the former both a *lifeguard* and *companion*. The bounties of their discerning master, together with the boldness and enterprise by which they had deserved them, are the only topics in their favour: for their military talents were not accompanied with any due proportion of sagacity or prudence: in those virtues they were far surpassed by Seleucus, a much younger man than either, and who now formed the main obstacle to Antigonus' designs in the East.

Antigonus
soothes
Seleucus
and gets
possession
of the Su-
sian for-
tress,—its
riches.

Before leaving Persia, that crafty usurper made a new distribution of the provinces, artfully confirming in their authority all those satraps whom his arm was unable to reach. With this view he sent his orders to Oxyartes, father-in-law to Alexander, who commanded in Paropamisus, as well as to Stasander and Tlepolemus, respectively governors of the outlying countries of Bactria and Carmania: although the forces of all these satraps had served against himself under Eumenes in the royal army. To Seleucus, he assigned not only Babylonia, of which that aspiring and fortunate leader was already in possession, but for a reason that will appear presently, annexed to it the contiguous province of Susiana. This valuable portion of the rich Assyrian plain had been held out by Polysperchon as a reward to Antigenes, commander of the Argyraspides; who, it was intended, should obtain the satrapy of Susiana, as soon as his successful co-operation with Eumenes had suppressed Antigonus' rebellion. But the cruel punishment of the intended governor had made room for the annexation just mentioned. Antigonus now marched in a peaceful manner towards the possessions of a man whom he had so greatly benefited, and was met on the banks of the Pasitigris, by Xenophilus, commander of the

³ Diodorus, l. xix. s. 48.

Susian citadel, who at the express desire of Seleucus, came to put into the hands of the new protector, the keys of that strong-hold. Antigonus gladly accepted a present of which he knew the full value. He treated Xenophilus with distinguished regard, and proceeded with him to his fortress, from whence he carried away fifteen thousand talents. He had collected ten thousand talents in Media and Persia; so that the whole of his pecuniary acquisitions fell little short of seven millions sterling. They consisted almost entirely of silver, and were carried chiefly on camels⁹.

In twenty-two days, he marched from Susa to Babylon. In the latter city he was honoured by Seleucus with royal presents, and his whole army was entertained with unbounded hospitality. But, on the slight pretence of an injury done by Seleucus to one of his officers, he chose to be much offended, and demanded from the Babylonian satrap an account of his revenues. Seleucus saw that celerity was requisite to avoid the fate of Python and Peucestēs. He escaped in the night with forty horsemen, and by rapid journeys travelled above nine hundred miles to seek the protection of Ptolemy in Alexandria¹⁰. Antigonus did not at first endeavour to intercept his flight: it seemed a piece of good fortune to have rid himself so easily of an enemy, whose mild government had endeared him to the Babylonians. He was now master of the rich central provinces of Asia. In Europe Cassander was his ally. Ptolemy might reign in Egypt and Cyrenè, and from thence extend his arms over the barren sands of Libya. Lysimachus might consolidate his barbarous kingdom of Thrace. But from the Grecian sea to the Indus, Antigonus was determined to leave no power independent of his own: to crush every obnoxious vassal, to break every unbending rival. These lofty thoughts were however abashed by the Chaldæan priests who had prophesied to Seleucus the empire of Asia. When Antigonus learned this prediction, though less

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Antigonus
marches to
Babylonia.
—Seleucus's flight
to Egypt.
Olymp.
xxvi. 2 B.
C. 315.

⁹ Diodor. l. xix. s. 48.

Diodorus, l. xix. s. 55.

¹⁰ Appian, Syriac, cap. 35. and

CHAP. VI. enslaved by superstition than most of his contemporaries, he instantly sent a nimble detachment of cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives. But Seleucus and his attendants, carried on the wings of fear, escaped its grasp: and arrived safely in Egypt, where Ptolemy received them with the most generous hospitality. Immediately afterwards he joined with Seleucus in an embassy to Lysimachus and Cassander, arraigning the tyranny of Antigonus, the common and unrelenting foe of all who enjoyed any preeminence in the empire¹¹.

Asander's
successful
opposition
to Antig-
onus in Les-
ser Asia.
Olymp.
exvi. 2. B.
C. 315.

Ptolemy's conduct may have been influenced by that compassion for Seleucus, to which it is wholly ascribed by historians: but the character of the former prince, whose humanity was never at variance with sound policy, combined with the condition of Lower Asia at that crisis, will reveal to us a more interested and more vigorous motive. During the three years that Antigonus had pursued his victorious career in the great countries of the East, Asander, governor of Caria, the most considerable enemy that he had left behind him in the Asiatic peninsula, had maintained an unremitted and successful struggle not only for keeping possession of his valuable province, but for extending his authority over Lycia and other parts of the contiguous coast¹². Encouraged by repeated advantages over Antigonus' generals, he had even penetrated into the heart of the peninsula, and aspired to the complete conquest of Cappadocia¹³. The events of this warfare forming but a subordinate plot in the bloody drama, are not circumstantially described. It appears, however, that the operations in Lower Asia had been carried on by sea as well as by land, and that the maritime enterprises of Asander had been peculiarly fortunate; since Antigonus at his return to Cilicia found scarcely a single galley remaining of the large and victorious fleet of which he was in possession, three years before, at his departure from the seacoast in pursuit of Eumenes.

¹¹ Id. *ibid*.

Conf. l. xix. s. 62.

¹² Diodor. l. xix. s. 75. calls him master of Asia, *ἡ τῆς Ἀσίας κυριεύων*.

¹³ Id. 58. & seq.

Ptolemy who was well acquainted with these transactions, in which, perhaps, he had secretly cooperated, also knew that Antigonus's power would be strenuously exerted for recovering his lost dominions in the peninsula, and for raising a new fleet. For attaining both purposes, his readiest means would be the invasion of Syria and Phœnicia, provinces that would lie at the mercy of the great army accompanying Antigonus from the East; and which, by supplying transports or the materials for constructing them in any number, would enable him more easily to crush Asander in Caria and Lycia by invading the seacoast, than by laborious marches to these provinces across the mountains. Syria, including Palestine and Phœnicia, had been, as above related, unwarrantably but most usefully usurped by Ptolemy, because essential appendages to Egypt, if Egypt ever aspired to become a great maritime power. Feeble Egyptian garrisons would form but trifling obstacles to the conquest of these countries by Antigonus; or as he affected to call it, their recovery to the empire. In espousing the cause of Seleucus, Ptolemy was in fact providing for the defence of his own. He foresaw the evils ready to assail him, and created a confederacy to resist them.

Meanwhile, Antigonus, as if he had felt similar alarms to those which he inspired, sent ambassadors to Cassander with a view to consolidate more firmly the alliance long subsisting between them. He despatched others to Ptolemy and Lysimachus, desiring a continuance of their amity, and explaining in the most favourable manner whatever might appear criminal in his late proceedings in the East. But while he seemed thus to invite their friendship, he made vigorous preparations for repelling their hostility. Having placed Python, the son of Agenor, in the vacant satrapies of Seleucus, Antigonus marched towards Cilicia, drew from the fortress of Kuinda ten thousand talents, collected eleven thousand ¹⁴ from the governors recently appointed by him in

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Ptolemy's
motives for
raising op-
position to
Antigonus.

Mutual
embassies
between
Antigonus
and his
enemies.
Olymp.
cxvi. 2. B.
C. 315.

¹⁴ The two sums collectively exceed the value of 4,000,000l.

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VI.

the East, and hastened towards Syria to carry into execution his designs against that country. In his progress thither, he was overtaken by ambassadors from the allied princes. They explained the demands of their respective masters. Seleucus demanded the restitution of his provinces. Ptolemy required that his right to Syria should be acknowledged. Lysimachus insisted on the addition of the Lesser Phrygia to Thrace that he might command both sides of the Hellespont. Asander¹⁵, satrap of Caria, who had heartily entered into the confederacy, was determined to maintain his conquests in Lycia and Cappadocia. Cassander, recently in alliance with Antigonus, to whom chiefly he owed his great success in Macedonia and Greece, appeared contented with his possessions in these countries; but joined with the allies in urging one most important point, that the sums of money taken from the royal treasuries should be faithfully accounted for and equitably divided¹⁶. To these multifarious demands, Antigonus made one general and short answer, "he was actually marching against Ptolemy, and after he had settled his differences with that satrap, would proceed in due time to deal with his perfidious and insolent confederates." As the ambassadors were departing from Antigonus, they were met by his son Demetrius, then in his nineteenth year, just returned from hunting. Slightly regarding the strangers, and without laying aside his javelins, Demetrius flew to embrace his father; "tell this also," said the old man, "at your return to your several masters, that they may know on what terms I live with my son;" an observation expressive of the horrid manners of the times, when fathers feared to be embraced by their armed children, and prophetic, according to the superstition of antiquity, of the wonderful harmony that afterwards prevailed in the family of Antigonus, which

Antigonus' final answer to the confederates. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.

¹⁵ His name is so written by Arrian apud Phot. p. 226. The transcribers of Diodorus write Cassander, which has given occasion to the general error of making one

person of two men, whose parts in history were extremely different, and each highly important.

¹⁶ Diodor. l. xix. s. 57.

reigned an hundred and twenty years in Macedon with only one example of parricide¹⁷. CHAP.
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The transaction just related, though conducted with little formality, was attended with momentous consequences, whether we regard the vastness of their extent, or the length of their duration. In Antigonus' answer to the embassy of the allied princes, the knot was tied of a memorable drama, involving the fortunes of mankind from the Hadriatic to the Indus, and from the frozen banks of the Danube to the scorching sands of Libya. The conflict, after being maintained a dozen years with no less dexterity than energy, terminated in the establishment of four independent monarchies; Syria, Egypt, Thrace, and Macedon; whose transactions with each other and with foreign nations until their successive reduction under the Parthian and Roman power, will furnish some of the most useful lessons and impressive warnings that are to be found in the whole series of ancient or modern history.

After his haughty answer to the ambassadors, Antigonus hastened to Syria to make good his threats. The whole of that country lay at the mercy of his invading army, except the strong towns, Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza; the first of which, though sacked only eighteen years before, had again recovered such a share of its ancient commerce and opulence as enabled it to stand a siege of fourteen months. The other cities were surrendered by their feeble Egyptian garrisons; but from the situation of Tyre formerly described, it could not be taken without a fleet, essential also, to the other designs which Antigonus then meditated. For creating a navy with celerity, capacious dock-yards were erected at Tripolis, Byblos, and Sidon; copiously supplied with timber from the waving ridges of Libanus, covered in every age of antiquity with cedars, cypresses, and the more useful pine. By the

¹⁷ Plutarch in Demet. The word parricide is used in its large acceptation, for the last Philip of Macedon, to whom Plutarch alludes, killed his son.

CHAP. VI. labour of eight thousand men, and a thousand yoke of oxen, the forest was transported to the seashore. The Phœnicians were ordered to collect from all parts of their country their workmen in wood and iron. The three cities above mentioned, glowed with the ardour of naval preparation. The harbours and docks of Cilicia were amply stored with timber from the neighbouring ridges of Taurus: while the island of Rhodes, which had begun within a narrow circuit to exhibit a wonderful extent of commercial and productive industry, was furnished with imported materials for exercising the activity of its shipwrights in the lucrative service of a prince who lavished his oriental spoils, to call forth every exertion that wealth can purchase¹⁸.

Arrange-
ment of the
transac-
tions in the
complica-
ted war of
four years.

Antigonus'
lieuten-
ants.

In thus preparing to form fleets fit to cope with those of Greece, of Macedon, and above all of Egypt, wonderfully improved in maritime affairs by Ptolemy during the seven years in which he had been master of Syria, Antigonus determined to avail himself to the utmost of his natural advantages over a confederacy, in the prompt execution of his designs, as well as in the systematic harmony with which they were concerted. The inland parts of Syria were ordered to provide two millions and seven hundred thousand bushels of wheat¹⁹, at which he estimated the annual consumption of his army. Besides an ample provision of troops and treasures, he enjoyed that without which all other warlike resources are of little avail, able commanders both by sea and land: Nearchus, the illustrious Cretan navigator, Andronicus the Olynthian, Idomeneus, Agesilaus, Medius, Bæotus, Macedonians educated in the school of Alexander; with his favourite son Demetrius, and his nephews Dioscorides and Ptolemy; youths born for war, and carefully formed to it under the eye of a watchful though indulgent master. With such ready instruments, he began to assail his enemies wher-

¹⁸ Conf. Appian, Syriac. c. 58. Diodor. l. xix. s. 58.

¹⁹ I reckon six bushels for each

Sicilian medimnus, by which it is probable that Diodorus, himself a *Sicilian*, would compute.

ever they were most vulnerable. His nephew, Ptolemy, in whose abilities he had great confidence, was sent with other generals to dispossess Asander of Cappadocia; and after performing this service, to proceed towards the Hellespont with a view to guard the narrow seas against Cassander and Lysimachus. Agesilaus sailed to Cyprus to detach that valuable island from the confederacy. Idomeneus had already succeeded in a similar design at Rhodes: while Aristodemus the Milesian, peculiarly qualified for the errand by his talent in buffoonery and adulation, carried large sums into Greece for the purposes of recruiting and bribery; and of gaining by every expedient Polysperchon, his son Alexander, and all men naturally hostile to the authority of Cassander in that country²⁰. By means of these and other engines, seconded by numerous bodies of troops, as fast as transports could be provided for conveying them, Antigonus kindled a war that lasted four years, in Lesser Asia, Greece, Thrace, and Syria; and then terminating in an hasty and perfidious accommodation, broke out with renewed violence in all those countries to which it had formerly extended. The important transactions in the first part of this complicated contest will arrange themselves perspicuously, if we shift their respective scenes in the order just given, beginning with Lesser Asia, and ending with Syria, because the events in one country grew out of those in another, and a single unfortunate incident in the Syrian war occasioned such a revolution in the Eastern provinces as inclined Antigonus to peace, though on all sides victorious.

Asander, the stubborn enemy of Antigonus in Asia Minor, was besieging Amisus in Pontus, when a strong division of the Syrian army drove him from that city. His ally, Zipætēs the Bithynian, was compelled to raise the siege of Chalcedon, and to request pardon from the generals of Antigonus. The forces of this prince expelled the enemy from their strong-holds in Pontus and Cappadocia, and recovered for their master the

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War in
Lesser
Asia.—
Gallant ex-
ploit of
Polyclei-
tus, Pto-
lemy's ad-
miral.
Olymp.
cxvi. 2. B.
C. 315.

²⁰ Diodor. l. xix. s. 57.

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northern shores of the peninsula. But Asander still defended himself with such vigour on its western and southern coasts, as excited the warmest exertions of the confederates in his defence, and thereby baffled, during two years that Antigonus was employed in other undertakings, the skill and enterprise of his nephew Ptolemy and other able commanders. Ptolemy, the satrap of Egypt, whose fleet as yet far surpassed that of Antigonus, assisted Asander with ten thousand mercenaries. Soon afterwards his admiral Polycleitus surprised succours not less considerable that were advancing to reinforce the enemy. At Aphrodisias, a port of Cilicia, so named from its temple of Venus, Polycleitus learned that an armament equipped by Antigonus in Rhodes, and escorted for safety by an army, was advancing eastward from Lycia to co-operate in the expulsion of Asander from the neighbouring coast. By a stratagem, skilfully concerted and dexterously executed, Polycleitus made himself master of both fleet and army. The whole of his marines were posted in ambuscade in a defile through which the enemy had to march. His fleet was carefully concealed behind the Cilician promontory of Anemurium. Perilaus, who commanded Antigonus' land forces, fell into the snare. He was made prisoner, and his troops either taken or slain. Suspecting some disaster from circumstances which the smallness of the intervening distance enabled him to observe, Theodotus, the cooperating admiral, hastened to land with his fleet to defend the intercepted army. But while he precipitately pushed to shore, Polycleitus with his ready squadrons darted from their concealment, and completed the defeat of men already half subdued by surprise and terror. The admiral of Antigonus was mortally wounded; all his ships were captured. Polycleitus pursued his voyage to Cyprus, whither he was destined, and thence to Pelusium in Egypt loaded with military and naval trophies²¹.

²¹ Diodor. l. xix. s. 62.

This successful stratagem was balanced by an exploit CHAP. VI.
 equally brilliant on the side of Antigonus. Cassander of Macedon was not less diligent than Ptolemy of Egypt, Rivalled by an exploit of young Ptolemy, Antigonus' nephew.
 in assisting their common ally. He had furnished Asander with a great reinforcement in the beginning of winter; at which time, young Ptolemy, Antigonus' nephew, who conducted the war in Caria, having cantoned his troops in their separate quarters, was piously employed in performing with much solemnity the funeral of his father, a man altogether unknown in history, except from the filial duty and conspicuous merit of his son. Elated with the great succours recently received, Asander, who was informed of his adversary's security, hoped to surprise his cantonments. For this purpose, eight thousand foot with a proportional body of cavalry, were intrusted to Eupolemus; a general, whose auspicious name²² ill accorded with the malignancy of his fortune. The vigilant Ptolemy was duly informed of the enemy's design. From the nearest quarters he collected a force sufficient to overpower the approaching detachment, after catching it in its own snare. Towards the dusk of evening, he advanced with silence and celerity, and at midnight assailed the hostile camp, slightly fortified, and altogether unguarded. Eupolemus and his men were made prisoners of war²³.

The principal circumstance that enabled Asander to keep his ground on both coasts of the peninsula, was the great Seleucus commanding the Egyptian, braves the Syrian fleet.
 superiority of the Egyptian fleet. Amidst the important affairs in which his own activity was employed, Ptolemy committed a hundred sail to his warlike guest Seleucus, Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.
 whose versatile talents were alike qualified for military and naval command. While Antigonus was busily employed in constructing ships in the Phœnician seaports, and in reducing the few places that still held out against him in that neighbourhood, Seleucus, in a fleet splendidly equipped.

²² Good in war.²³ Diodor. l. xix. s. 68.

CHAP. sailed northward from Egypt towards Asia Minor, braving
 VI. with contemptuous airs the hostile coast of Syria. The sight of such a magnificent fleet, commanded by so enterprising an admiral, damped the ardour of men, still occupied with preparation, encouraged the enemies of Antigonos, and disheartened his allies. But the alacrity of a general, grown old in victory, was not to be repressed by this ostentation of superiority. With his usual boldness of asseveration, he swore, that within a year's time, he would have five hundred sail ready to put to sea²⁴. In that short interval, he actually equipped two hundred and seventy ships of war, most of which greatly exceeded the size of trireme gallies, the ordinary rate among the Greeks, and consisted of stouter vessels with four, five, nine, and even ten banks of oars. Till this time, penteremes or ships with five banks only were the largest known to antiquity. Antigonos at once doubled this number; and thereby augmented in a far greater proportion the size of his gallies. These vast floating machines were the contrivance of his son Demetrius, then in his twenty-first year²⁵.

Antigonos' When his preparations were completed, Antigonos, tired
 march to march to
 Celænæ, in Celænæ, in
 Phrygia. Phrygia.

with the unsuccessful warfare carried on by his generals in Lesser Asia, determined to take the field in person against Asander. His son Demetrius was left to command in Syria: Medius was intrusted with his fleet; with the flower of his army, Antigonos marched towards the Grecian sea. It was the heart of winter; the cold was extreme; and in crossing the defiles of mount Taurus, in Cilicia, his army was assailed by a snowy tempest, which buried many brave men under its cold weight. The remainder, after being long retarded by the uncommon severity of the weather, at length pursued their comfortless and dreary way through the neighbouring mountains of Isauria, till the Greater Phrygia, and particularly the dry district of Celænæ received them into its warm and hospitable bosom²⁶.

²⁴ Diodor. l. xix. s. 58.

²⁵ Plutarch in Demet.

²⁶ Diodor. l. xix. s. 69. Conf
 Dion. Chrysost. Orat. l. xxxv. p. 432.

In the Celænæan territory, whose fruitfulness was cherished by subterranean fires ²⁷, Antigonus fixed his head-quarters while he remained in the peninsula of Asia. From thence he sent reinforcements as well as orders to his generals employed in distant scenes of the war; and in the beginning of spring assailed Asander of Caria, so vigorously by sea and land, that the obstinacy of this rebellious satrap, as Antigonus affected to represent him, was compelled to surrender all his conquests on the coast as well as in the midland country. Asander was thus confined to his original province of Caria; and for his dutiful behaviour even there, condescended to give his brother Agathon as a hostage. Shortly afterwards, he repented of his submission: and having enabled his brother to escape from the hands of Antigonus, again applied to his former confederates. Provoked at these acts of treachery ²⁸, Antigonus invaded Caria by land, while his admiral Medius, and young Ptolemy, now serving in the fleet, assailed the numerous cities on its deeply indented shores. The whole province was completely subdued. The fate of Asander is unknown: if he did not fall in battle, he probably sank into a private station, since his name does not occur in the treaty of peace which was concluded the following year, and in which Antigonus was acknowledged by the confederates as sovereign of all Asia.

The war in the Asiatic peninsula, thus terminated by the ruin of Asander, had been supported by powerful reinforcements from his allies. Antigonus therefore, while he endeavoured to weaken the exertions of Lysimachus and Ptolemy, by means that will hereafter be described, was peculiarly diligent in finding such employment for Cassander at home, as should prevent him from looking abroad, and taking part in the Asiatic warfare. Aristodemus, the Milesian, carried large sums of money into Greece, and procured from the degenerate Spartans, the permission of recruiting in their territory. He was soon at the head of eight thousand merce-

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He defeats
and ruins
Asander
satrap of
Caria.
Olymp.
cxvi. 4.—
B. C. 313.

War in
Greece,
against
Cassander.
Olymp.
cxvi. 3. B.
C. 314.

²⁷ Strabo, l. xii. p. 579.

²⁸ Diodor. l. xix. p. 75.

CHAP. VI. nary Greeks of Peloponnesus; while the fierce Etolians, and warlike Epirots, with the barbarous and greedy Illyrians, were encouraged by his agents to take arms against the usurping power of Macedon, the common tyrant of nations. Aristodemus gained the friendship of Polysperchon and his son Alexander, who respectively held Corinth and Sicyon. The former was declared general in Peloponnesus; the latter had instructions to repair to Antigonus, then in Syria.

Accusa-
tions urged
against him
by Anti-
gonus.

Upon the arrival of Alexander in the camp, the Macedonians there were joined by their countrymen in the neighbouring cities and garrisons. In this assembly of the nation, for those who remained in their own country in Europe, were held of no account, in comparison with the armies who had conquered Asia; Cassander was arraigned as the persecutor of the royal family, as the murderer of Olympias, as the violator of Thessalonica, and as the usurper of royal power, which he glaringly displayed in the city Cassandria, insolently called by his name. Vengeance was denounced against him, unless he instantly released Alexander Ægus and his mother from their confinement, and in all things complied with the orders of Antigonus, the protector of that young prince, and of the empire.

Cassander
gains the
son of Poly-
sperchon.

By the same decree, *unconditional freedom* was restored to every city of Greece, implying thereby the restoration of its ancient equitable laws, and a complete exemption from contributions and garrisons. Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, returned with this decree into Greece, and with large sums of money to facilitate its execution. Through his exertions and those of Aristodemus, Cassander, whom they branded as a traitor and a murderer, was deprived of most of his possessions in the Peloponnesus, and was on the point of losing the whole of that peninsula, when he found means of gaining²⁹ by great promises the treacherous son of Polysperchon, and thus converting the zealous patriot, and indignant accuser, into a partisan of the very man, whom he had recently and

²⁹ Diodor. *ibid.*

publicly reproached with the most enormous crimes. The perfidious Alexander did not live to obtain the reward promised him in the generalship of all Peloponnesus. He was slain at Sicyon, by persons who called themselves his friends³⁰. An insurrection of the citizens ensued, which was quelled by Cratisipolis, the wife of Alexander, a woman distinguished by her beauty and her gallantries, but still more by her craft and courage.

The defection of her unworthy husband, only delayed the success of Antigonus. By this time the fleets of that prince were prepared for sea. Telesphorus, his general, sailed to Peloponnesus, with fifty gallees and a large army. Under pretence of giving freedom to that country, he expelled Cassander's garrisons, and replaced them with his own. Corinth indeed was still held by Polysperchon, to whom Cratisipolis had also resigned Sicyon. Except these cities, the rest of the peninsula lay entirely at the mercy of Telesphorus; and as Polysperchon had not joined in the defection of his son, the general of Antigonus might still regard him in the light of an ally, heartily united in animosity to Cassander their common enemy. Meanwhile, Aristodemus' intrigues and bribery began to operate in the northern divisions of Greece. The Etolians and Bœotians sent ambassadors to Antigonus, requesting his friendship. Young Ptolemy, whose services were no longer necessary in Lesser Asia, hastened to protect them against Cassander with a fleet and army. He gained possession of Chalcis in Eubœa, the key to that island; he expelled the Macedonian garrison from Thebes; in Phocis and Locris, his arms were equally successful; the whole country from the isthmus of Corinth, to the straits of Thermopylæ acknowledged his ascendancy; and as he granted an alliance to Athens, still governed by Demetrius Phalereus, and treated with great mildness the places taken by force, as well as those which had yielded to persuasion, his authority over

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VI.

Great success of Ptolemy, Antigonus' nephew, in Greece. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

³⁰ Diodor. *ibid.* s. 69.

CHAP. VI. the persons of the Greeks, was strengthened by interest in their affections³¹. Cassander harassed in war by the Epirots and Illyrians, and threatened by invasion from Hellespontian Phrygia, was unable to prevent the farther ruin of his affairs in Greece, much less to repair past losses. Thessaly alone remained to him of all his former possessions in that country.

Frantic
proceed-
ings of Te-
lesphorus.

Antigonus rejoiced in the happy exploits of his nephew; and without regarding the unequal merit of Telesphorus, intrusted Ptolemy with the sole administration in Greece. Telesphorus was enraged to madness by this disgrace. He determined no more to see his master; he sold the fleet committed to him; and when the Elians disapproved his proceedings, he entered their sacred city, seized the Olympic treasure, gained to him by bribes a body of adventurers as daring and desperate as himself, and prepared to defend the usurped dominion of Elis, by bridling it with a new citadel. From this inland capital, he extended his ravages to the Elian seaport of Cyllene, which was oppressed by his mercenaries; while the once renowned Spartans, and other warlike states of Peloponnesus, remained tame spectators of the profanation of a consecrated territory, equally endeared and ennobled as the scene of their most revered religious solemnities. But that which the Greeks had not spirit to do for themselves, was effected by a young Macedonian officer in the service of Antigonus. Upon the first intelligence of Telesphorus' frantic behaviour, Ptolemy hastened to Peloponnesus, expelled the outrageous oppressor from Elis and its territory, levelled his new citadel in the dust, replaced in the Olympian temple its dedicated treasure, and, together with their solitary harbour of Cyllene, restored to the peaceful Elians their ancient and sacred security³².

Young Pto-
lemy's
merit and
success.
Olymp.
cxvii. 1. B.
C. 312.

The issue of
the war in
Greece,
highly fa-
vourable to
Antigonus
and his fa-
mily.

In this manner the war in Greece terminated, not only to the advantage, but real glory of Antigonus. He thenceforward enjoyed in that country an influence, which, though it underwent great variations, descended to his posterity, and

³¹ Diodor. l. xix. s. 73.

³² Ibid. s. 87.

finally enabled his family to acquire, and long retain the crown of Macedon. History is silent as to the punishment of the villanous Telesphorus; but even its silence attests the actual weakness of the Greeks, who, in passing from one master to another, performed not any exploit worthy of commemoration; nothing distinguished by vigour in execution, or even boldness of design.

Lysimachus of Thrace, had joined in the league against Antigonus; and during the expedition of the latter into Upper Asia, had invaded Hellespontian Phrygia, with a view to appropriate that valuable province, so conveniently situated with regard to his own maritime possessions. Antigonus, however, at his return to the seacoast, contrived to create such disturbances in Thrace itself, that its rapacious satrap was unable to yield any assistance to the confederacy, or even to defend his acquisitions on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. In addition to the hostility of the fierce Thracian mountaineers under their hereditary chieftains, Lysimachus experienced a revolt of the Greek cities, planted for the commercial purposes explained in a former part of this work, on the shores of the Euxine. Odessus, Calatis, and other places of less note from the eastern extremity of Mount Hæmus to the mouths of the Danube, expelled his garrisons and defied his vengeance. Calatis, a colony of Pontic Heracleæ, sustained a siege of several years, during which it was repeatedly succoured by Antigonus with fleets and armies. The friendly intercourse between this city, and the Scythians beyond the Danube, procured for it the powerful aid of those formidable Barbarians³³. It is uncertain whether Lysimachus ever compelled the place to surrender; and shortly after his death, Calatis appears in the rank of an independent commonwealth, waging an obstinate war with Byzantium³⁴.

Victorious in Thrace, in Greece, and in the peninsula of Asia, Antigonus imprudently rejected proposals for peace,

³³ Diodor. l. xix. s. 73.

³⁴ Memnon apud Photium. c. 22.

CHAP. VI. which the allies separately made to him. He purposed to reduce them all to unconditional submission; and might have succeeded in this design, had not events in Syria, to which the transactions hitherto related are but bloodless preludes, given a new turn to the war, and threatened the total ruin of his affairs. Shortly after his first invasion of Syria, he had taken Gaza and Joppa by assault. Tyre surrendered to his arms after a blockade of fourteen months. Thus master of the only places which had held out for Ptolemy, he considered Syria, a country of great resources, and now completely subdued, as peculiarly well calculated from its central situation, for becoming the seat of an imperial capital, and the head of his vast monarchy in Europe and Asia. At his march towards the Grecian sea, he had left in that important province his son Demetrius with a considerable army, assisted by the counsels of confidential friends and able generals; purposing after he had settled affairs in the West, to return himself into Syria, and by an invasion from that quarter, to enlarge his extensive dominion by the fertility and wealth of Egypt.

Ptolemy
invades Syria.
Olymp.
cxvii. 1.
B. C. 312.

Ptolemy was not unacquainted with his views; but his first care had been to appease the troubles excited by the enemy in Cyrene. The cautious Egyptian satrap was slow to show himself on the foreground of the war; but in proportion to his prudent delay, he appeared at length with higher dignity and more decisive effect. By means of his fleet, still superior, if not in strength, at least in skill and practice, he completed the conquest of Cyprus, whose harbours were conveniently situated for invading Syria and Cilicia. In the former country, he gained the seaport of Posideium, at the mouth of the Orontes: in the latter, he carried with much bravery the strong fortifications of Mallos. Both places were plundered; their inhabitants were made slaves; and the districts dependent on them, which had been sources of copious supply to the enemy, were desolated by fire and sword. Young Demetrius who had been left by his father to defend this central portion of his dominions, was not of a

temper to see it wasted with impunity. Having collected his cavalry and light armed troops, he hastened by forced marches into Cilicia: but if he had been provoked to learn the proceedings of his enemies in that province, he was still more mortified to find that they had withdrawn from it, carrying with them its rich spoils to Cyprus. To prevent some new disaster in Syria, on whose southern frontier he had reason to fear an invasion, he returned thither with such celerity that he is said to have accomplished an ordinary march of twenty-four days in six only. Ptolemy meanwhile having assembled the military force of his province was marching to the frontier city of Pelusium, separated by a desert of an hundred and twenty miles from Gaza, the principal station of the enemy. His standard was followed by eighteen thousand foot, and four thousand horse, Macedonians or mercenaries. This regular army was attended by a crowd of Egyptians; merchants, purveyors, carriers, many of whom were armed after the comparatively awkward manner of their country. By means of precautions formerly described, the expeditious march through the desert was performed without danger. Emerging from this dreary ocean of sand, Ptolemy encamped³⁵ near a place called Old Gaza, distant a few miles from the city of the same name, demolished after a stubborn siege by Alexander, but afterwards more strongly fortified by that conqueror, and now garrisoned by the troops of Antigonus.

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In this neighbourhood Demetrius collected fifteen thousand foot, five thousand horse, and forty elephants; his youthful mind glowing with impatience to meet his antagonist. In vain his experienced counsellors, Python, the son of Agenor, and Bæotus the most intimate friend of his father, dissuaded him from risking an unnecessary battle against a superior army, commanded by such generals as Ptolemy and Seleucus. He was master, as they represented to him, of all the surrounding territory. The walls of Gaza, Tyre,

Demetrius
prepares to
give him
battle.

³⁵ Diodor. I. xix. s. 80.

CHAP. VI. Sidon, Joppa, and other fortified cities afforded to him secure places of arms; from which, without endangering his high fortune, he might continually infest his opponents, beat up their quarters, intercept their convoys, cut off their advanced parties, and finally compel them to a retreat through the desert, equally ruinous and disgraceful. Neither Demetrius himself, nor the troops whom he commanded, were capable of listening to this salutary advice. His youth, his talents, and his temper, all conspired to inflame his hopes and pervert his judgment. Having summoned the soldiers that he might justify by their decision his own obstinate rashness, he mounted the military tribunal in complete and royal armour, and prepared to address the surrounding multitude. His air and aspect recalled to the Macedonians the image of Alexander, whom Demetrius rivalled in commanding majesty, and whom he far surpassed in comeliness and in stature. But in his twenty-second year, the son of Antigonus felt not that confidence in himself and that inborn dignity, by which the son of Philip at an earlier age had challenged the submission of mankind. In the presence of so formidable an audience of armed veterans and experienced generals, frowning with disapprobation, his resolution began to shake, his countenance fell, and his memory totally forsook him. A great majority, however, of the troops, flushed with a long series of victories, encouraged him by their favourable acclamations to proceed. The light mind of Demetrius, animated by this mark of their affection, passed from timidity to transport. The hopes with which his own bosom panted, were communicated warm and entire to his hearers, while he exhorted them by every motive of honour, of interest, and of duty, to prepare for a battle which must unalterably confirm their own fortunes and the stability of his father's empire ³⁶.

Battle of
Old Gaza.
Olymp.
cxvii. 1.
B. C. 312.

On the day of battle Demetrius posted his best troops on the left wing, and reinforced it by the elephants, with which

³⁶ Plutarch in Demet.

kind of auxiliaries the enemy had not provided themselves, because they well knew, it is said, that the African elephants could not be brought to engage those of India. The great body of his infantry formed the center. His right wing contained the least serviceable part of the army, on which account it receded in a waving line from the hostile front, and its commander, Andronicus, was ordered to provoke a battle without attempting to sustain it. By the vigorous onset of his left, Demetrius hoped to make an impression the more decisive, because, according to the Macedonian arrangements above explained, the general with his select bands of cavalry never fought without some evident local reason in that quarter of the field. But Ptolemy and Seleucus, having discovered that Demetrius meant thereby to surprise them, moved from their left with three thousand chosen cavalry. The equestrian combat was animated and persevering; both sides having broken their lances had recourse to their swords; the companions of Alexander striving to preserve the laurels which they had dearly earned, and Demetrius, who only knew by report the glory of that prince, aspiring by his prowess in the present battle to equal the renown of the greatest captains. But unfortunately a part of his force in which he much confided, and which Alexander's better science disdained, principally occasioned his defeat. His elephants being roused to the charge advanced with seemingly resistless weight, when they were withstood, however, and rendered useless by a simple enough defence, with which the Egyptians had the precaution to be provided. This was a sort of portable barrier, studded with iron spikes, and strongly connected by massy chains. When this movable wall was thrown in the way of those fierce animals, it totally prevented them from using with effect their butting strength. From the huge weight of their bodies, their feet are comparatively weak and tender. Their assault is chiefly formidable on a smooth and soft ground. Disabled by the unevenness of their footing, and tortured by piercing spikes,

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they were exhausted by their own fury, while the Indians, who exerted their utmost skill in vainly endeavouring to govern them, were overwhelmed by missile weapons. This unexpected disaster dismayed Demetrius' left wing; and together with it, drove his whole army into flight. Under this sad calamity, the desperate valour of the general was zealously seconded by Python and Bæotus, who strove by voice and arm to rally the fugitives. But their meritorious exertions only procured them an honourable death, since both fell gloriously while attempting with unequal strength to stem the torrent of pursuit. Their bravest companions shared the same fate. Demetrius perceiving the battle irretrievably lost, fled northwards to Gaza, but was so closely pursued by the victors, that he could not safely enter that place. As many of his followers, however, had deposited there the whole of their effects, nothing could restrain them from endeavouring to recover their dearly purchased booty. Rushing heedlessly into Gaza, they were followed by Ptolemy's cavalry, who thus augmented the number of their valuable captives, and gained possession of a strong city, containing the baggage of the whole army, together with the rich furniture and numerous domestics belonging to its commanders. Demetrius still pursued his flight northwards, until he was received within the friendly walls of Azotus, thirty miles distant from the field of battle³⁷.

Vast loss on
the part of
Demetrius.

In this city he was apprised of the full extent of his misfortune: five thousand, principally horsemen, were slain; eight thousand, chiefly infantry, were made prisoners. The loss of trinkets and treasures in Gaza seemed of no account: His bravest soldiers, his beloved friends had fallen; and their bodies still lay unburied on the field of battle. To remove this last and worst disgrace, heralds were sent to Ptolemy, craving leave to inter the vanquished. Together with this permission, which it would have been impious to deny, the heralds brought back to Demetrius his camp

³⁷ Diodor. l. xix. s. 81. & seq. and Plutarch in Demet.

equipage and effects, and the sad remnant of his surviving friends, with a generous message from Ptolemy, "that he contended not for all things at once, with the son of his ancient partner in arms, and formerly faithful ally." Demetrius accepted his bounty, but implored the gods that they would relieve him from a gratitude burdensome, because due to the enemy of his father²⁸.

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His vow was heard; he was enabled in a short time to repay Ptolemy's favour. Yet the consequences of his defeat at Gaza were irretrievable, since it enabled Seleucus, while Demetrius was repairing his affairs in Syria, and Antigonus still busy in the peninsula, to regain possession of Babylonia, and thereby eventually to become master of Upper Asia. This memorable revolution will be circumstantially described, after we have concluded the less important transactions in Syria and its neighbourhood.

Irretrievable consequences of that battle.

From Azotus, in which Demetrius first found a short respite from the pursuers, he retreated northwards to Tripoli, thus abandoning to the enemy two hundred miles of the Syrian coast. Ascalon, Acca, Joppa, Samaria, and Sidon opened their gates to the conqueror. Andronicus, who having escaped from the battle of Gaza, had resumed his command in Tyre, ventured, however, not only to defend that place, but to answer Ptolemy's summons with gross insults. A revolt of the citizens compelled him to surrender. His brave resistance was praised, his insulting language was forgiven; and by this seasonable lenity Ptolemy acquired fair renown while he prudently converted a stubborn adversary into a zealous partisan.

Ptolemy forgives the insults of Andronicus governor of Tyre.

Demetrius, with defeated troops but a mind still undaunted, yielded not to that despondency too natural to youthful impatience under its first painful reverse. It was his character to harden under the blows of fortune. By one of those rapid marches; in which he rivalled Alexander himself, he crossed mount Taurus, assembled the veteran garrisons in the eastern

Demetrius surprises Ptolemy's general Killes and completely defeats him. Olymp. exvii. 1. B. C. 312.

²⁸ Id. *ibid.*

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provinces of the peninsula, and appeared unexpectedly in the heart of Syria. Ptolemy, whose genius led him still more strongly to improve his dominions than to head armies, had intrusted the command in Syria to Killes, a general chosen, as it should seem, with little discernment, since he committed the greatest of all military errors, that of despising his enemies. In proceeding towards Demetrius, he advanced rashly, and encamped carelessly near the obscure town of Myons. His vigilant adversary duly apprised of his security and negligence, led his army by divisions, through narrow and unfrequented paths; and by well concerted movements, surprised at the hour of midnight Killes in his defenceless camp, gained a large booty, and made seven thousand prisoners. His success filled him with inexpressible joy, as the means of *disburdening* his gratitude to the Egyptian satrap. Killes, the confidential friend of Ptolemy, was instantly released; and, together with other officers of distinction, sent back to Egypt loaded with presents ³⁹.

The Egyptians evacuate Syria carrying with them many Jews.

Meanwhile Antigonus having triumphed over his enemies in the West, moved from the Grecian sea to oppose Ptolemy in Syria. His approach, combined with the recent and ruinous disaster of Killes, filled the Egyptian satrap with alarm.

The great army of Antigonus had hardened in many a victorious campaign, their admired commander, in a life of continued warfare, having passed his seventieth year without once losing a battle. Ptolemy's generals were ordered to evacuate Syria, that they might be ready to defend the fortresses of Egypt and the banks of the Nile ⁴⁰. In their retreat from the former province, they were followed by many of its inhabitants, particularly by many Jews, *the Syrians of Palestine*, who preferred to their native country a residence in the flourishing capital of Alexandria, where their nation, adroit and hardy, had, as before related, been endowed by the discernment of Ptolemy with many valuable immunities. In the number of Jewish emigrants, historians have distin-

³⁹ Conf. Diodor. l. xix. s. 93. and Plutarch in Demet.

⁴⁰ Id. *ibid*.

guished Hezekiah, a chief priest, respectable for eloquence and wisdom; and Mosollam, a soldier, highly admired by the Greeks for his skill in archery and his valour; and who challenged their admiration more justly, by the contempt which he boldly expressed for their puerile superstition. In marching towards the Red Sea, a detachment escorting the baggage, was suddenly stopped by orders of the soothsayer. Mosollam asked the reason of the halt. The augur desired him, and them all, to observe a bird at which he pointed. "Should this messenger of the gods," he said, "remain at rest, we ought likewise for the present to repose; if he rises and flies onward in the line of our march we may then proceed with confidence; but should our sure guide take a contrary direction, we must then return to the place whence we last came." The grave admonition was scarcely uttered, when an arrow flew from the unerring hand of Mosollam, and brought down the bird fluttering in its blood. The diviner and the whole Grecian detachment were moved with indignation. Amidst the blind rage of a capricious multitude, glory or disgraceful death depends on the decision of the moment. The Jew was saved by his presence of mind and intrepidity. "Your anger," he said, "is groundless. You think that the bird was acquainted with the destiny that awaits us and the whole army; yet the thoughtless little wanderer was plainly unconscious of its own fate, otherwise it would never have roved to this unfortunate spot, to be transfixed by the arrow of Mosollam the Jew ⁴¹."

From the conversation of the Jews now accompanying the Egyptian army, Hecataeus of Abdera, a Grecian colony on the coast of Thrace, was enabled to compose his elaborate and faithful history of a people whose transactions and institutions have been strangely disfigured by the vain prejudices of Greece, and more strangely overlooked or calumniated by the proud ignorance of Rome. Hecataeus of Abdera, as well as Jerom of Cardia, assiduously cultivated letters amidst the cares and

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Hezekiah
and Mosol-
lam.

Why Heca-
taeus, of
Abdera and
Jerom of
Cardia
treated the
Jews so
differently
in their res-
pective his-
tories.

⁴¹ Joseph. contr. Apion. l. i.

CHAP. labours of warfare; like Ptolemy, Eumenes, Aristobulus,
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and other generals of an age equally preeminent in arts and arms. After the death of Alexander, Hecataeus attached himself solely to Ptolemy; while the compliant Jerom followed successively the fortunes of Eumenes, Antigonus, and Seleucus; the first of whom was destroyed by the second, as was the second by the third. Under the empire of Seleucus, Jerom, who lived to the age of an hundred and four years, was employed as governor of Syria, in which Palestine was included. Yet in his history of Alexander's immediate successors, it was remarked that Jerom had passed over the wonderful peculiarities of the Hebrew race in total and incomprehensible silence; a silence, however, that may in some measure be accounted for, if we consider that the natives of Judæa were either open enemies or reluctant subjects to the princes whom he tamely and anxiously served; whereas Hecataeus, being the friend of Ptolemy the beloved protector of the Jews, deduced the memorable series of their exploits and sufferings from the age of Abraham to his own times⁴²; a work the loss of which is the more unfortunate, because the religion and polity of Palestine must have been placed in a light equally striking and new, by the exclusive impartiality of this curious and well informed stranger.

Nabathæan
Arabs.—
Their cha-
racter and
pursuits.

Having thus recovered the undisputed possession of Syria, Antigonus, before invading the powerful satrapy of Egypt, determined to round, as it were, and fortify on all sides, the country which he had chosen for his imperial residence, the station for his fleet and army, and the center from which his orders were to pervade the most distant provinces. The command of the intermediate deserts between Syria and Egypt, and a control over their roving inhabitants, must have appeared also a necessary preparative for facilitating

⁴² Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 8. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. ix. and Origen. contr. Cels. l. i. p. 13.

the conquest of Ptolemy's well fortified dominions. The Nabathæan Arabs inhabiting these deserts, formed a powerful branch of the great Nomadic nation, who, as formerly explained, served from immemorial antiquity for carriers in the commercial intercourse between Egypt and Phœnicia on one hand, and in that between Ethiopia and Assyria on the other. From the desolating wars that had long prevailed in all these countries, and especially from the downfall of Egyptian Thebes, Phœnician Tyre, and Assyrian Babylon, the traffic, by which the Nabathæans had flourished, fell to decay. But the natives of the wilderness in all ages compensated for the allotment of a sterile territory by the force of arms, as well as by the frauds of commerce⁴³. Although they had given no particular provocation to Antigonos, it seemed sufficient that they were always able and willing to offend; and this consideration, conspired with other motives to precipitate him into an expedition; often undertaken by the greatest conquerors both before and afterwards, but in which it should seem that no laurels were destined ever to be won.

Not only the nature of the country, but still more the genius of the people, seemed peculiarly well fitted for repelling invasion. They derived their name from Nabaioth⁴⁴, the eldest of the sons of Ishmael, and are honourably distinguished by their ancestors, whose history is faithfully recorded⁴⁵ when that of the world consisted in the tradition of scattered families; and still more terribly conspicuous for the valourous enthusiasm of their descendents, since the concurring testimony⁴⁶ of Greeks and Barbarians entitles them to claim Mahomet for their own. Nine centuries before the Christian era, their decaying institutions were restored to their primitive vigour, and thenceforward perpetuated under the most awful penalties. With submission

CHAP. VI.
Their history and institutions.

⁴³ Plin. l. vi. c. 32. Conf. Diodor. l. ii. s. 48.

⁴⁴ Genesis, c. xxv. v. 13. I follow the writing of the Septuagint.

⁴⁵ Genesis, c. vi, vii.

⁴⁶ That of the Greek Theophanes Chronograph. p. 277. and of the Syrian prince, and geographer Ishmael Abulfeda, in his Directorium Region. p. 11.

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to the stern laws of Jonadab, powerfully enforced by their country and climate, the Nabathæans abstained from practices elsewhere indifferent or meritorious; they neither built houses, nor planted fruit trees, nor drank wine, nor sowed corn⁴⁷. Amidst an ocean of sand, intersected by sharp rocks, they wanted rivers to irrigate and fertilize their adust soil; and their wells were so scanty and precarious that the collected rain was carefully deposited in strong cisterns, whose mouths, constructed with artful concealment⁴⁸, were only discernible by the keenness of an Arabian eye. These were the hidden treasures of the desert, by which the Nabathæans supported their laborious lives, and from which they watered their weary flocks, conducting them, as occasion required, over wide intervals of barrenness to rare and meagre pastures, diversified chiefly by the spreading tamarind and hardy Acacia. The Nabathæans lived wholly in tents; their food consisted in flesh and milk; their luxuries were pepper and honey⁴⁹; sheep, camels, and horses formed their principal wealth; their first passion was to live independent and fearless, their second to inspire terror into all their neighbours⁵⁰. Surrounded on three sides by the most flourishing nations of antiquity, they communicated on the south with the pastoral kingdom of Yemen, whose happy shores were enriched by precious aromatics. The myrrh and frankincense furnished at stated fairs by the southern tribes the Nabathæans deposited in huge caverns, particularly those of the rock Petra, distant about one hundred miles from the Mediterranean, and half that space southward from the Dead Sea, called by the Greeks the lake Asphaltites. From these magazines, they supplied with spices and perfumes the commerce of Phœnicia, the luxury

⁴⁷ Jeremiah, c. xxxv. v. 8, 9. 2 Kings, c. x. v. 15. Conf. Diodor. l. xix. s. 94.

⁴⁸ The opening was small at top, but gradually enlarged in a quadrangular form. Each side of the square at bottom was sometimes a *πλῆθος*, that is 100 feet long.

⁴⁹ I adopt Wesselingius' correc-

tion, *καὶ μέλι ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων*. Polyz-nus, Ælian, and Aristotle mention this wild honey found on the leaves of trees; the same substance on which St. John fed in the neighbouring wilderness. From whom the Arabs got their pepper, I formerly explained.

⁵⁰ Diodor. l. xix. s. 94.

of Egypt, the magnificence of Assyria, and the costly superstition of all those countries, whose inhabitants they alternately overreached in trade and plundered in war ⁵¹.

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Antigonus, as master of part of the contiguous territories, and hoping shortly to engross the whole, determined to assail these common enemies; and by the terror of his arms, to render them subservient to his views. Having selected four thousand foot and six hundred horse, the best prepared for expedition, he waited till the Nabathæans travelled southward to one of the periodical fairs above mentioned, after leaving only a slight guard at Petra, consisting chiefly of old men, to defend their wives, children, and most precious effects. Athenæus, who conducted the enterprise, in a forced march of thirty-six hours, surprised Petra; put its obstinate defenders to the sword; and returned towards Gaza loaded with much valuable merchandise, besides five hundred talents of silver and a crowd of young slaves. Before the military caravan had proceeded twenty miles on its route, the fatigue of a sandy road and the almost vertical blaze of the sun occasioned a hasty encampment, in the full confidence that little danger was to be apprehended from so distant an enemy. But the Arabs had already taken the alarm. Accus-
tomed to clear skies and naked plains, their experienced eyes discerned from afar the faintest shadows of warriors to avoid, or travellers to plunder: and whether they wished to fight or fly, the velocity of their horses and dromedaries ⁵² was always ready to second their purpose. At their return to Petra, they learned from their fathers yet weltering in blood, the full extent of their disaster; and they flew with fury to avenge it. To the number of eight thousand, they assailed the unguarded tents of the Macedonians; massacred part of them asleep, slew others as they roused from their slumber: the whole infantry perished; and only fifty horsemen escaped bleeding with their wounds ⁵³.

Antigonus' expedition against them. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

Its unfortunate issue.

⁵¹ Diodor. *ibid.* and l. ii. s. 48. → two bunches. Voyage en Syrie.

⁵² I use this word to express the swiftest camels. Volney denies their

⁵³ Diodor. l. xix. s. 95

CHAP. VI. Having satiated their revenge the Arabs returned to Petra, and sent messengers to Antigonos, with a letter in the Syrian character, complaining of his cruel and unprovoked invasion⁵⁴. The Macedonian dissembled his wrath, and loudly condemned Athenæus, who, without any orders from himself, had undertaken a mad and wicked enterprise that had been justly punished. But, while he thus endeavoured to lull the fear of the enemy, he equipped a new detachment far more numerous than the former, which being amply furnished with food, not requiring any preparation by fire, was committed to the zeal and boldness of his son Demetrius.

proves
fruitless.

The fair words of Antigonos, deceived not that suspicious caution which is the natural characteristic of robbers. Sentinels were posted on the rocks skirting the Nabathæan desert; and according to the eastern custom, supplied with torches for signals. The general blaze announced Demetrius's invasion, and gave time to provide against it. Petra was stripped of its treasures, which were conveyed farther into the wilderness; but a trusty band was left to defend the place itself, a natural fortress well improved by art, with one narrow entrance near the summit. Demetrius led his men to the assault, but was so vigorously received by the Arabs, that it became necessary to sound a retreat. Next day the attack was on the point of being renewed, when the clear and articulate voice of an eloquent Nabathæan, strongly urged the folly of invading a territory, which was so sparingly provided with those objects, for the sake of which only, any war can reasonably be undertaken. "Our country is adust and desolate. We alone are born to inhabit it, because we prefer freedom to all other enjoyments. So deeply rooted is our love of independence, that could you enthral our bodies, you never would be able to subdue our minds. All you would obtain by conquest, would be a crowd of obstinate or spiritless slaves, incapable of endur-

⁵⁴ Ibid. s. 95.

ing any other institutions than those under which they have immemorially lived." Demetrius, on whose mind, as will appear more clearly hereafter, this speech was peculiarly well calculated to operate, received presents and hostages, and instantly withdrew his army⁵⁵.

To compensate however for the failure of this expedition, he engaged in an undertaking seemingly more practicable, and if it succeeded, certainly more lucrative. The singular appearance of the country through which he had travelled to Petra, would have excited the attention of a man far less curious than himself. The horror of its grim aspect must have been heightened by contrast with the smiling fertility and beauty of the northern regions of Syria, which he had just left, and in which, though equally mountainous with the southern division of that country, the mountains pleased and allured, their sides being richly cloathed with vines, olives, and the umbrageous fig tree; while their summits waved with pines and cedars, the loftiest offspring of the forest; and the intermediate vallies were diversified with yellow harvests, and an abundant variety of such shrubs and fruit trees as flower in the mildest climates. Such is the general picture of northern Syria⁵⁶; but in approaching *Palestinian* Syria, a country which once owed advantages, denied it by nature, to the stubborn industry of man, the hills of the same Alpine elevation⁵⁷ are bleak and barren, almost uniformly white, but rugged and shapeless. The scene grows inexpressibly dreary around the lake Asphaltites; rude without being romantic, deformed with all the horrors of savageness, without any of the charms of wildness. This tremendous lake, which the Jews named variously from its pernicious vapours and its bitter saltness, the Dead and the Salt Sea, is immersed in a bituminous steam, the cruel work of subterranean fires, since the pestilent

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Demetrius' retreat.

⁵⁵ Diodor. l. xix. s. 97, 98.

⁵⁶ Brown, Volney, &c. Description of Syria.

⁵⁷ From the continuance of snow on mount Libanus, its elevation

has been estimated at 1600 fathoms. The highest of the Alps, mount Blanc, is 2600 fathoms, and the Pic of Ossian in the Pyrenees, 1900.

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effluvia are highly deleterious to almost every form of animal and vegetable life. Into its northern extremity, the rivers Jordan and Arnon continually flow, and are continually absorbed and corrupted in its dismal pools⁵⁸; which extend generally in breadth about twelve miles, and stretch sixty miles in length, from the Aulon or great valley of Judæa, to the land of Edom, and the skirts of the Nabathæan desert.

Their productions.

This odious and deadly landskip, whose actual appearance so forcibly commemorates the ancient punishment of its execrable inhabitants⁵⁹, contained however two valuable treasures, the balm of Gilead, and the above mentioned Asphaltus or bitumen; the former of peculiar request in medicine, and the latter indispensable to the Egyptians in embalming their dead bodies⁶⁰. As motives of gain universally prevail over considerations of health, the high emolument derived from the traffic of those articles, had attracted colonies to both sides of the Dead Sea; men more cruel and merciless than the shores were they dwelt. For collecting the Asphaltus, they employed rafts of wood, which two mariners navigated, while one warrior armed with his bow and lance, repelled those who either obstructed their labour, or sought to appropriate its fruits⁶¹. A lawless banditti living in perpetual hostility with each other, Demetrius found it easy to overawe, and might hope with little difficulty to extirpate. He carefully examined the lake, and brought to his father so favourable an account of the profit which it was calculated to afford, that Antigonus sent forces to gain possession of the territory. Their success was complete: and Jerom, the historian, was left with a detachment to superintend the collecting of the bitumen.

Jerom of Cardia left to collect bitumen, but obliged to abandon that design.

⁵⁸ Diodorus, l. xix. s. 98.

⁵⁹ The modern Syrians call the Lacus Asphaltites, the lake of Lot, and shew to credulous pilgrims shapeless blocks of detached rock, as indubitable monuments of Lot's wife; yet that worldly minded woman was only involved in a pillar of salt, easily dissolvable, not converted into stone like Niobe.

verted into stone like Niobe.

⁶⁰ Diodorus, l. xix. s. 99. says, "the embalmers could not exercise their trade without this production of the lake:" dont la salure, Mr Volney observes, "est infiniment plus forte que celle de la mer."

⁶¹ Diodor. l. xix. s. 99.

But he had scarcely begun the useful work, when the Arabs CHAP. VI. to the number of six thousand, attacked and destroyed his boats, killed the greatest part of his men, and compelled him to return with precipitation to his employer⁶². The artful Jerom, however, well knew how to varnish his disgrace; and his representations prevailed with Antigonus to relinquish all prospects of revenue from the lake Asphaltites, and all hopes of vengeance from a renewal of the Nabathæan war. In this resolution he was confirmed by very alarming intelligence from both extremities of the empire.

In the West, Lysimachus and Cassander had grown more powerful, not only through the vigour of their own exertions, but in consequence of the languid or treacherous proceedings of young Ptolemy, who, upon some unexplained wound given to his pride, had taken offence at his uncle, and begun to tamper with Cassander, to whom he afterwards revolted⁶³. From the East, Antigonus was informed by Nicanor his governor of Media, that the provinces of Upper Asia were in the most dangerous commotion; that part of them was already lost, and that the speediest exertions were requisite for saving the remainder⁶⁴.

The victory obtained by Ptolemy, over Demetrius at Gaza, was attended with a consequence which neither of these generals had foreseen. Seleucus, who had so important a share in that brilliant action, and whose active mind never slumbered, availed himself of the good fortune and gratitude of his ally, to obtain from him a body of troops for invading his ancient satrapy of Babylonia, of which three years before, he had been divested by Antigonus. During four years that he had formerly governed there, the vigilance and impartial justice of Seleucus had endeared him to the natives⁶⁵. Imitating the liberal policy of Alexander, he indulged the Asiatics in their inveterate habits of thought and action; gradually engrafting however on the oriental stock, those simple yet solid improvements, of which daily

⁶² Ibid. s. 100.

⁶³ Ibid. s. xx. s. 19.

⁶⁴ Ibid. l. xx. s. 90. & seq.

⁶⁵ Πάσι προσσηνικτο καλῶς. Diodorus, l. xix. s. 91.

CHAP. VI. experience clearly evinced the utility. With little regard to national distinctions, he acknowledged those chiefly of personal merit. The vanquished were protected in common with the victors; and both were promoted in just proportion to their zeal and ability in the public service. With energy equal to his ambition, the love of power in Seleucus was called royalty of soul⁶⁶. His praises were highly sounded among Greeks and Barbarians; and as he was younger by many years than Antigonus⁶⁷, and even than Ptolemy or Lysimachus, a circumstance of much weight with the vulgar, the popular oracles of many nations had foretold his future greatness, and unbounded prosperity⁶⁸.

Seleucus
recovers
Babylon.

Encouraged by these circumstances in his favour, he ventured on his expedition to Upper Asia, with a thousand infantry and three hundred horse⁶⁹. Demetrius was still stunned with his defeat, while Antigonus was laboriously occupied in completing the conquest of the peninsula. Of this fortunate crisis, the only one which the war had afforded, Seleucus availed himself with the same decisive resolution, with which he had formerly in quitting Babylon, yielded to the ascending star of Antigonus. On their weary march through the desert, his followers were refreshed by the prophecies of the Chaldæans, and those of the Branchidæ of Miletus⁷⁰, announcing their beloved leader as the destined Lord of Asia, and founder of a new and endless dynasty. The fortified post of Carrhæ, in Mesopotamia, opened its gates on the first summons, and the garrison consisting of a body of Macedonian veterans joined the party of the invader. In the progress of his march, Seleucus met with the welcome reception of an hereditary prince, who arrives to rescue his birthright from a cruel usurpation. Antigonus' soldiers in Babylon were unable to repress the joy of its citizens, who went forth in crowds to hail their

⁶⁶ Appian in Syriac.

xix. s. 55. and 90.

⁶⁷ He died forty-two years after Alexander, aged 70. Id. *ibid*.

⁶⁸ Appian, Syriac.

⁷⁰ Diodor. *ubi supra*.

⁶⁹ Conf. Diodor. l. ii. s. 31. and l.

deliverer. Diphilus, commanding one division of the troops left to overawe the city, threw himself into a fortified palace, with a number of principal Babylonians by way of hostages; while Polyarchus, another general, forsook the odious cause of Antigonus, and joined his rival with upwards of a thousand warlike Macedonians⁷¹. Seleucus had now sufficient force to assail and carry the fortified palace or citadel, which had previously been converted into a state prison, since he found in it many illustrious captives, his companions and friends, whom Antigonus had confined in that strong hold on taking possession of Babylon⁷². The victory of Seleucus was now complete. The banks of the Tigris and Euphrates again smiled under a benignant master; evincing in the easy and almost bloodless revolution, the importance of the people's affections, even in countries long enured to the sternest despotism.

But this successful enterprise which restored to Seleucus millions of affectionate subjects, had not given him the command of any considerable military force. His diligence was exerted in making new levies of infantry, and in distributing horses to those qualified to use them. The rapidity of his enemies anticipated his preparations. Antigonus indeed was remote; Demetrius, as we have seen, was occupied in other pursuits; but Nicanor and Evagoras, respectively governors of Media and Persia, were in arms to defend the cause of a master to whom they owed their appointments. With upwards of ten thousand foot and seven thousand horse, they hastened to the eastern bank of the Tigris, where Seleucus, who could scarcely oppose them with half that strength, had recourse to art for supplying his deficiency in force. The enemy confident in their numbers and prowess, encamped without guards or sentinels, and without previously examining the adjacent country. There Seleucus had laid an ambush among the thick and lofty

CHAP.
VI.

Successful-
ly defends
it.

His strata-
gem.

⁷¹ Diodor. l. xix. a. 91.

⁷² Id. *ibid.*

CHAP. VI. reeds of a neighbouring marsh. The hostile camp was surprised in the night; Evagorus was slain in the first attack; most of the soldiers surrendered; and Nicanor with a few followers avoided destruction by flying into the desert. Their camp, their treasures, and what to Seleucus was the greatest treasure, a large body of well disciplined Macedonians, rewarded the success of this bold stratagem⁷³.

Era of the
kingdom of
the Greeks.
Olymp.
cxvii. 1.
B. C. 312.

From the recovery of Babylon by Seleucus, or rather from this victory, by which the invaluable possession was defended, the historians of all nations except the Chaldeans alone, date the era of the Seleucidæ, the long line of the Greek dynasty in Upper Asia: an era still recognised in the East, by Christians and Heathens, Mahometans and Jews. It commences in the autumn of the year three hundred and twelve before Christ. The Jews named it the era of contracts, because, by it solely till the eleventh century after Christ, they dated all legal transactions⁷⁴; the books of the Maccabees call it "the era of the kingdom of the Greeks;" and the Arabs still distinguish it by the epithet of "two horned"⁷⁵, expressing the great emblem of power in oriental antiquity; an emblem adopted by Alexander himself, and still conspicuous on his own coins, as well as those of the Seleucidæ, his Assyrian successors.

Demetrius'
expedition
against
Babylon.
Olymp.
cxvii. 1.
B. C. 312.

The Chaldeans alone dated the kingdom of the Greeks a year later than other nations. This distinguished cast, comprising the sacerdotal, and other learned professions in Babylon, whose privileges were peculiarly concerned in the issue of the contest between Seleucus and Antigonus, did not think their country completely rescued from the grasp of the latter, till the disgraceful repulse of Demetrius in the ensuing spring. That prince, after his unsuccessful expedition against the Nabathæan Arabs, rejoined his father in Syria, where they received the mortifying intelligence, that Seleucus, after the recovery of Babylonia, had pursued

⁷³ Diodor. l. xix. s. 92.

leucid.

⁷⁴ Usher, Petav, &c. de ær. Se-

⁷⁵ Golij Not. ad Alpheragan, p. 58.

Nicanor into Media, reduced him to the necessity of fighting, and slain him with his own hand, in a battle that procured for the victor the immediate submission of Upper Asia⁷⁶. To repair this misfortune, which the sanguine temper of Antigonus still deemed possible, Demetrius was sent with fifteen thousand foot and four thousand horse to reconquer Babylon, a city first rendered defenceless through the jealous despotism of the Persians, and now altogether unprepared for resisting a vigorous assault. Patrocles, who during Seleucus' absence commanded in the place, was apprised of the enemy's motions, and lost not any time in communicating the news of them to his master. But the rapidity of Demetrius would have anticipated a less distant foe. He had already passed the Euphrates, and was marching through Mesopotamia, when Patrocles proposed to the inhabitants of Babylon, a very extraordinary measure, which was embraced with yet more extraordinary consent.

This was nothing less than that the vast multitude of peaceful and industrious natives, should abandon their city to an invader whom they had not arms to resist, and patiently wait for a change of fortune, either through his own success against the enemy, or the return of Seleucus with his victorious army from the East. The whole body of the people, not excepting those privileged orders of men long proverbial for pomp and luxury, left their habitations and comforts; and fled in various directions, with their families and treasures; some pursuing the road through the desert, others crossing the Tigris to the fertile province of Susiana; while Patrocles, with his Macedonians, and such natives of Babylon, as had courage to follow his standard, after garrisoning two strong palaces or castles, lurked amidst the marshes and canals of the Euphrates, watching an opportunity of some stolen advantage over assailants whom he durst not openly oppose. Demetrius meantime advanced, and upon entering the gates without resistance, found to his astonishment the city ran-

CHAP.
VI.

The Babylonians
fly their
country;

which De-
metrius

⁷⁶ Appian Syriac c. 55.

CHAP. sacked and deserted. The two strong fortresses on opposite
 VI. banks of the Euphrates, refused however to surrender at his
 plunders in his retreat. summons. One of them was taken after an obstinate resistance, sacked without mercy, and strongly garrisoned. But the other held out so long, that the patience of Demetrius was exhausted. The time had elapsed which Antigonus had fixed for his return into Syria. He therefore left his lieutenant Archelaus with five thousand foot and one thousand horse to prosecute the siege, and marched towards the seacoast, indulging his troops in the utmost licence of plunder⁷⁷.

The Baby- The cruelty of his invasion, and the vengeful desolation of
 lonians thereby rivetted the Babylonians more firmly than ever
 rivetted in affection to Seleucus. to Seleucus. The besiegers, whom Demetrius had left behind, soon became the besieged; and they, as well as the garrison, occupying the fortress which he had taken, surrendered unconditionally⁷⁸; it is uncertain whether to Patrocles, after he emerged from his concealment, or to Seleucus in person after his triumphant return from the East.

General This sudden revolution in the upper provinces, which it
 peace be- would require his undivided exertions to recover, induced
 tween An- Antigonus to listen to the pacific overtures which Cassander
 tigonus and the confederates, Seleucus only excepted. Victorious in three scenes of the war; in Syria, in the peninsula of Asia, and in Greece; the compactness of his dominions, as well as the superiority of his army, which, when commanded by himself had never suffered a defeat, threatened Egypt on one side, and Macedon on the other. He seemed entitled therefore to dictate the terms of peace to which Lysimachus, still employed in the obstinate siege of Callatis, gladly acceded. In the treaty which immediately followed, no mention is made of the fair division of the provinces, or the equal partition of treasures; demands which had given birth to the war. The dominion of all Asia is acknowledged to belong to Antigonus; an article by which

⁷⁷ Diodor. l. xix. s. 100.

dor. ubi supra.

⁷⁸ Plutarch in Demet. and Dio-

⁷⁹ Diodor. l. xix. s. 62. and 75

the allies clearly abandoned the interests of Seleucus. CHAP. VI.
Egypt with its dependencies in Africa, was assigned to
Ptolemy; Macedon, to Cassander; Thrace, to Lysimachus:
and it was agreed on all sides that Greece, meaning thereby
the Greek republics in Asia as well as Europe, should be
allowed to resume, and thenceforward permitted to enjoy,
its beloved hereditary freedom.

CHAPTER VII.

Murders in the Family of Alexander. Antigonus' Expedition into Babylonia. His Nephew revolts to Ptolemy. Demetrius emancipates Greece. His romantic Character and Proceedings. Invades Cyprus. Tragical Events there. Siege of Salamis. The Helepolis. Demetrius' decisive Naval Victory. How announced to Antigonus. He assumes the Title of King. In this, imitated by his Rivals. Unsuccessful Expedition against Egypt. State of that Kingdom. Makes War on Rhodes. History, Institutions, and Connections of that Island. The Siege of Rhodes raised. Demetrius' second Expedition into Greece. Views of Antigonus. Secrecy of the Confederacy against him. Campaign in Lesser Asia. Decisive Battle of Ipsus.

CHAP.
VII.

Murder of
Alexander
Ægus and
Roxana.
Olymp.
cxvii. 2.
B. C. 311.

THE empire of Alexander, though in reality divided among his lieutenants, was still held together in appearance by a pretended veneration for his family. In the late treaty of peace between Antigonus and Demetrius on one hand, and Ptolemy with his allies Cassander and Lysimachus on the other, it was stipulated that the government of Macedon should be administered by Cassander, until the youth Alexander Ægus, now in his thirteenth year, attained the age of majority¹. This condition was specified on the presumption that the son of the Macedonian hero would naturally establish his court in his ancient and hereditary kingdom; and while he administered in person the affairs of that country, would from thence issue the public commands² to the long chain of dependent provinces. When the young Alexander reached the age of manhood, the satrap of Macedon might then be entrusted with some other government; and in the same manner the other generals holding their appointments

¹ Diodor. l. xix. s. 105.

cedon, see above, p. 28.

² For the political freedom of Ma-

provisionally, would either be confirmed in them or removed, according to the orders of the king approved by his council and confirmed by his nation. Such were the specious hopes with which the generals of Alexander insulted the family of that prince, and deluded the deep-rooted loyalty of the Macedonian people, who, both at home and abroad, still formed the sinews and pride of their respective armies. Alexander Ægus remained meanwhile in strict confinement with his mother Roxana, in the strong citadel of Amphipolis. In consequence of the treaty acknowledging his just title to the throne, the voice of the public became louder in his favour, claiming not only his release from unworthy captivity, but demanding for him an establishment becoming the high dignity to which he was destined. Provoked by these clamours, Cassander at once secured the permanence of his own power, and gratified the views of the other satraps, with whom he had just confederated, by procuring the death of the young prince. Glaucias, the keeper of the citadel of Amphipolis, was his agent in this execrable crime. The beautiful Roxana was involved in the fate of her son³. Their murder was suspected by the public, but not clearly brought to light, otherwise it would have been impossible to restrain the vengeance of the enraged multitude.

The consequences of this deed of darkness occasioned, from an unexpected quarter, a new alarm to its author. The old and selfish Polysperchon, who retained possession of some strong-holds in Peloponnesus, still laboured on the brink of the grave to gratify his lust of power. Shortly after the premature death, as it was called, of Alexander Ægus, he gave intimation of that event to Hercules the son of Alexander by Barcina, then residing in Pergamus, four years older than his brother recently murdered, but from the illegitimacy of his birth deemed incapable of succession. Notwithstanding this circumstance, Hercules, at the instigation of Polysperchon, made sail towards Greece in hopes of mounting the throne of his ancestors⁴. In promoting

CHAP.
VII.

Polysperchon brings Alexander's son Hercules to Olymp. exvii. 3. B. C. 310.

³ Pausanias, l. ix. c. 7. and Diodor. l. xix. s. 105. ⁴ Diodor. l. xx. s. 20.

CHAP. this bold undertaking, which would have had a dazzling
VII. kind of merit, had it proceeded from honest motives, Poly-

sperchon obtained the hearty cooperation of his countrymen, the restless Etolians: his standard was joined by many malcontents from Macedon: he stood on the frontiers of that kingdom, with an army twenty thousand strong; and the troops with which Cassander marched to oppose him, wavered in their affections. The danger was imminent; but Cassander knew the man with whom he had to deal.

Murder of
that young
prince.
Olymp.
cxvii. 4.
B. C. 309.

By bribes and promises he prevailed with Polysperchon to murder the youth, whom he affected to honour as his sovereign⁵. Polysperchon did not obtain the principal object for which he had been tempted to incur the most enormous guilt. This was the command in Peloponnesus, towards which country, with the recommendation and aid of Cassander, he now directed his march. But the inhabitants of that peninsula, assisted by the Bœotians, opposed his return southward⁶. He was obliged to winter in Locris, and from thence returned to a castle commanding a small district between Epirus and Etolia. The recovery of this stronghold, which had formerly belonged to him, and of which he had been deprived by Cassander, now rewarded his detestable wickedness; and here probably this veteran in villany, who had once swayed the protectoral sceptre, ended many years afterwards his ignominious life; a life deformed by every thing atrocious in cruelty and base in perfidy⁷.

Murder of
Alexander's sister
Cleopatra.
Occasion
thereof.
Olymp.
cxviii. 1.
B. C. 308.

As the destruction of Alexander Ægus had inflamed the ambition, and produced the swift ruin of Hercules, so the removal of both these sons of the great Macedonian, revived the hopes, and occasioned the speedy murder of his sister Cleopatra. That princess, of whom we have before spoken, still resided in Sardes the capital of Lydia. She had

⁵ Diodor. l. xx. s. 28. It is uncertain whether Hercules was poisoned or strangled. Conf. Pausanias, l. ix. c. 17. Plutarch, tom. ii. p. 530.

⁶ Diodor. *ibid.*

⁷ Tzezis in Lycoph. Cassand v. 801.

been successively courted by Leonnatus and Perdiccas, who, when their nuptials with her were on the point of consummation, had fallen unpitied victims to their ambitious love. The cautious Ptolemy had delayed to solicit her hand, until the death of her nephews made it a prize more worthy of his pursuit. Cleopatra accepted the proposal; and was preparing to leave Sardes, when Antigonus commanded the governor of that place cruelly to frustrate her purpose. The murder of Cleopatra was ascribed to a treacherous conspiracy of her attendants⁸, who were punished by a public execution; while the princess herself was interred by Antigonus with royal honours; an artifice which repressed clamour, without deceiving the public. Of all the family of Alexander and his father Philip, Thessalonica, the wife of Cassander, alone survived. Her fate was suspended sixteen years longer; but then, as will be seen in due time, she perished more dreadfully than any of her relatives.

The confederates in the war against Antigonus, had gladly concluded peace, in order to save their respective dominions. That general himself had been determined to the same measure, by the hope of recovering from Seleucus the eastern provinces. His expedition into Upper Asia shortly after his accommodation with his western enemies is a matter of record. A battle is mentioned of doubtful issue; after which, Seleucus, by making his men sleep in their armour, surprized his adversary next morning, and obtained over him a decided advantage⁹. But neither is the year of these battles ascertained, nor are any of their incidents or consequences particularly described in history. It should seem that Seleucus, strong in the affections of his subjects, and elated with a long series of eastern triumphs, was able to make such stout resistance, as determined Antigonus to suspend farther hostility in that quarter, until he could assail the foe with a more commanding superiority. Although, from local circumstances, above explained, nature herself seems to have determined,

⁸ Diodor. l. xx. s. 37.⁹ Polyænus, l. iv. Voc. Seleucus.

CHAP. VII. by the interposition of mountains, marshes, and deserts, that Upper and Lower Asia should not be subject to the same power. yet Alexander's successors were continually encouraged by his example, in the hope of conquering the East through the valour of the West. Antigonus, therefore, might resolve to build up and firmly cement the dominions of which he was already in possession, postponing to a fitter time the design of directing their consolidated weight against his oriental adversary.

Importance of Antigonus' dominions.

Besides the invaluable country of Syria, formerly described, he was master of almost the whole peninsula of Asia, inhabited by a mixed assemblage of agricultural and commercial nations, sprung partly from Greece and the contiguous provinces of Europe. This strong admixture of European blood gave, in a military point of view, great advantages to a territory naturally fertile, highly cultivated, and whose lands derived a vast increase of value from the rich and populous seaports that every where enlivened its western and southern coasts. Besides these seaports, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, the peninsula contained eleven distinct territories, of which the seven smaller had, each of them about seventy or fourscore miles in a diameter. Of these seven; Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, looked towards Greece, from which their shores had been colonized. Lycia and Pamphilia were washed by the Mediterranean; Paphlagonia and Pontus, by the Euxine. The four larger provinces were Phrygia and Cappadocia in the centre; Bithynia, contiguous to the northern district of Paphlagonia; and Cilicia, to the southern one of Pamphilia².

Young Ptolemy revolts from his uncle Antigonus. Olymp. cxvii. 3. B. C. 310.

Not contented with this long list of territories, Antigonus retained possession of Greek commonwealths on his coasts, which, according to an article in the late treaty, ought to have resumed their ancient liberties. His nephew, young Ptolemy, was commanded also to keep firm hold of his conquests in Greece itself. But this young man, whose ruling passion was the love of fame, and who, as we have before

² Strabo, l. xiv. passim. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 27. & seq.

seen, had acquired great glory as the deliverer of Greece from Cassander, very negligently observed his uncle's orders: and upon some unknown cause of disgust, his wounded pride threw him into the party of those who ventured once more to declare themselves the enemies of that formidable usurper¹⁰. Cassander, in defiance of his engagements, still maintained his garrisons in Athens and Megara; and Egyptian Ptolemy sailed with a large fleet that, under pretence of carrying the treaty of peace into execution, he might enjoy his equal share of the common booty. Such was the natural consequence of the fallacious agreement giving freedom to states, which, as the contracting parties well knew, had neither military resources nor patriotism to defend the inestimable present.

The Egyptian fleet easily gained possession of the smaller Greek seaports on the southern coast of Lesser Asia; and Ptolemy was strenuously employed in the siege of Halicarnassus, the capital of Caria, when the arrival of Demetrius with a still superior fleet, obliged him to raise the siege, and gradually to abandon all his conquests in that peninsula. The neighbouring isles, many of which had been garrisoned by Antigonus, were the next object of his pretended emancipation¹¹. In the isle of Cós he was joined, according to his desire, by young Ptolemy, who heartily concurred with the pretended generosity of his views; and who had given orders to Phœnix, his deputy it seems in Hellespontian Phrygia, to maintain for him that province against the arms of his uncle. Antigonus despatched his younger son Philip with a force that effectually crushed the rebellion of Phœnix; about the same time that his master fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of his namesake, the Egyptian satrap. That crafty prince, who really entertained none of the romantic notions of young Ptolemy on the subject of Grecian liberty, distrusted his impracticable character, his pride, and the engaging popularity of his behaviour towards the soldiers. On the suspicion that he

CHAP.
VII.

¹⁰ Diodor. l. xx. s. 19.

¹¹ Diodor. l. xix. s. 19. and 27.

CHAP. VII. tampered with their allegiance, the nephew of Antigonus was seized, imprisoned, and obliged to drink hemlock¹²: a death well merited, it may be thought, by his treachery to his uncle; yet had this extraordinary youth lived at a happier era, and been abetted by followers worthy the Grecian name, he might have proved the deliverer of those once illustrious commonwealths from the iron grasp of stern military tyrants.

Ptolemy divides the strongholds of Greece with Cassander. Olymp. cxviii. 1. B. C. 308.

The Egyptian sâtrap having perpetrated this act of cruelty in the isle of Còs, and joined the troops of young Ptolemy with his own, sailed to the continent of Greece, and under pretence of restoring freedom to that country, gained possession of Corinth and Sicyon. To aid him in completing his professed plan, the states of Peloponnesus were required to raise by a fixed time, certain subsidies in money and provisions. But as they neglected to perform this condition, Ptolemy declined further interference in their affairs; entered into an agreement with Cassander, that each should retain the cities which he actually possessed; and having placed strong garrisons in Corinth and Sicyon, returned with his fleet to Egypt¹³.

Demetrius' expedition for emancipating Greece. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

The delusive project of emancipation thus openly abandoned by Ptolemy, was undertaken by Antigonus. By strenuous preparations on the coast of the peninsula and of Syria, he had equipped two hundred and fifty gallies. With this fleet, and a sum of five thousand talents, Demetrius was sent to execute the generous purpose of his father; whose concern, however, for the happiness of the Greeks in Europe was exposed to well grounded suspicion, since their brethren in Asia were really treated by him as conquered subjects. But this inconsistency Antigonus endeavoured by artificial distinctions to conceal or varnish; and to a counsellor, who advised him to lay fast hold of Athens as a ladder for climbing to the sovereignty of Greece, he replied, "that the only ladder not subject to accidents was the love of the Athenians, which he was determined to merit by good offices; since their immortal city, he con-

¹² Diodor. l. xix. s. 27.

¹³ Diodor. l. xx. s. 37.

sidered as the lighthouse of the world, calculated to blaze¹⁴ his renown through the most distant nations of the earth.”

CHAP.
VII.

The armament of Demetrius greatly exceeded the expectation of friends as well as enemies to the Macedonian interest in Athens. When it appeared off the coast, the Athenians of all parties believed that so powerful a fleet could belong only to Ptolemy, Cassander's ally. In the profound security of the partisans of that prince, then invested with the entire disposal of the national force, the Piræus was left unguarded, until the vessel of Demetrius approached so nearly, that he himself could be distinctly discerned by the spectators who crowded the shore, beckoning them with his hand, and requesting the favour of an audience. He declared in few words, “that he had been sent by his father to expel the Macedonian garrison, and to liberate from unworthy bondage the most illustrious city in the world.” His speech being echoed by the clear voice of a herald, the Athenians were in commotion; the majority threw down the arms which they had hastily seized; and Demetrius landed amidst loud acclamations that drowned all opposition. Having thanked his friends, he exchanged hostages with the magistrates, and received possession of a city which Demetrius Phalereus had governed during ten years. The Phalerean, who, notwithstanding the mildness and popularity of his administration, justly dreaded the capricious resentment of the Athenian populace, was kindly protected by the invader; entertained with the respect due to the splendour of his talents and virtues; and at his own desire, allowed to remove under a proper escort to Thebes, which, as a city deeply indebted to his master and friend Cassander, he chose for the place of his retreat. The fortified harbour Munychia was indeed still defended by the gallantry of Dionysius, commanding a Macedonian garrison. Demetrius left part of his troops to besiege

His successful and generous proceedings.

¹⁴ *Διαφωτιστικῶν*. Plutarch in Demet. a metaphor from the signals

CHAP.
VII.

it, and with the other surprised the city of Megara, about twenty miles distant; expelled Cassander's garrison; and proclaimed freedom to that small but once respectable commonwealth. Having returned to Athens, he gained the Munychia after an obstinate assault of two days. Dionysius and his troops were made prisoners. The revolution, remarkable for its mildness, was now complete; and, in order to render it permanent, Demetrius, whose mind appears to have undergone a revolution not less sudden, promised amply to supply the emancipated Athenians both with the means of subsistence and the instruments of defence. The want of corn in their own narrow and barren territory they had been accustomed to supply by copious importations, chiefly from the coasts of the Propontis and Euxine. But their ships of war were no more, by which only they could protect this distant and indispensable branch of commerce. At the request of his son, Antigonus sent them timber for building an hundred galleys, and provided them at once with an hundred and ten thousand quarters of grain; accompanying these presents with high professions of respect, and the restitution of the isle of Imbros, which, until the fatal issue of the Lamian war, had been the immemorial possession of their ancestors ¹⁵.

Change
operated
on Demetrius at
Athens.—
His romantic
character.

In this generous proceeding, Antigonus followed, indeed, the *letter* of his own positive declarations, but he adopted it in reality at the earnest solicitation of Demetrius, whom he had long cherished with the fondest partiality. Besides the most undeviating filial duty, Demetrius had many qualities fitted to excite esteem. His zeal in his father's service was seconded by indefatigable activity. To great military and great naval talents, he added the merit of finding out new means of exerting the one and the other, by inventing machines of superior efficacy in sieges ¹⁶, and galleys of an unexampled size and inimitable swiftness. His mind re-

¹⁵ Plutarch in Demet. and Diodorus, l. xx. s. 45, 46.

¹⁶ In these discoveries he appears to have been assisted by Epimachus an Athenian, and Hegetor

of Byzantium. Vid. Athenæi Lib. de Machinis Bellicis ad M. Marcellum, apud Veteres Mathematicos Paris 1693.

finied by art, sharpened by science, and enlarged by an experience far beyond his years, was however fatally enslaved by the love of fame and of pleasure; passions inflamed to the most vicious excess through the indulgence of his father, and the boundless servility of the Athenians. The extravagant honours heaped on him by the multitude, who treated him as their god, their saviour, the oracle whom on all occasions they were bound to consult and obey, and whose decisions alone constituted right and wrong; these absurdities, which appear to the modern reader equally ridiculous and unaccountable, originated chiefly in the external qualifications of Demetrius, operating on the fantastic and degenerate superstition of his times. His person, to use the language of antiquity¹⁶, was arrayed in that dignity of beauty which beamed from the statues of the gods, and particularly of Bacchus, not the jolly divinity of modern poets, but the awful and benignant conqueror, uniting the loftiest majesty with ineffable grace. Bacchus, therefore, was the model which the son of Antigonus aspired to rival, both in his indefatigable exertions in time of war, and in the splendid festivities with which he improved and embellished the fruits of victory; when glory summoned to arms, the most enterprising, the most vigilant, of men; but when the conflict terminated in triumph, relaxing into the softest effeminacy and the most unbridled voluptuousness. Among all the surviving generals of Alexander, since Ptolemy was still contented to be thought the son of Lagos, Antigonus alone deduced his origin from Temenus, a descendent of Hercules, and the revered founder of the Macedonian dynasty. The pride of blood thus conspired with other peculiarities in Demetrius' situation to exalt his hopes, and inflame his ambition: his romantic enthusiasm received with complacence such distinctions as might be conferred on him consistently with the genius of paganism; and the lightness of his ill-balanced mind was assailed, and completely overset, by flatteries in direct contradiction to the

¹⁷ Aristot. Politic. l. i. c. 5.

CHAP. VII. received maxims of the Athenians in matters not only of religion but of government and morals. He was honoured with the title of king, a title for many preceding centuries held in the utmost abhorrence by those zealous republicans. The establishment of annual archons was abolished; and the Athenian year was thenceforward to be named after the priest of the new god, Demetrius the saviour; *his* shrine was to be consulted instead of the Delphian oracle; *his* name was to be substituted for Dionysius in the festival of the Bacchanalia; and by a law surpassing every extravagance of adulation that despotism every extorted from oriental slavery, all the words and actions of Demetrius were declared to be essentially characterized by piety towards the gods and justice towards men. It is not to be imagined however, that the Athenians were unanimous in this abominable prostitution of their ancient dignity. The disgraceful decrees, proposed by demagogues and buffoons, were lashed with sharp ridicule in the comedies of Philipides and Menander, and rejected with scornful disdain by the indignant schools of Theophrastus and Stilpon. But the majority of a degenerate populace¹⁷ was not to be corrected either by reason or by ridicule; and their resentment, long impotent in the field of battle, became again formidable in the courts of justice. Demetrius Phalereus, whose equitable and mild administration, had greatly benefited his country, was tried in his absence and condemned capitally. His statues were insultingly mutilated; and his friend Menander narrowly escaped death, having incautiously remained in person within the cruel grasp of an enraged popular tribunal¹⁸.

He embraces sincerely the design of liberating Greece.

The behaviour of the Athenians being peculiarly adapted to gratify the ruling passions of Demetrius, excited in his susceptible breast the liveliest emotions of gratitude. He considered not that the loftiest honours may be degraded, and rendered of no value, through the total unworthiness of those by whom they are conferred. In the warmth of his undistinguishing fancy, he was betrayed by the sameness

¹⁷ Plutarch in Demetrio.

Phaler. l. v. s. 79.

¹⁸ Diogen. Laert. in Vit. Demet.

of a name, and spoke of the Athenians of his own time as if they had consisted of those heroes and patriots, whose renown had once filled the world. Instead of the meanness of contemporary objects, he beheld only the ancient glory of the republic; the wisdom of its laws, the prowess of its arms, the splendour of its monuments, the preeminence of those unperishing productions of the mind, by which its fame was to be indefinitely extended in point both of space and of time. The project of liberating Greece, or at least Athens, which had been merely a pretence with other generals, became with Demetrius a real undertaking and most substantial concern.

Amidst his measures for this purpose, he was recalled, however, by orders from Antigonus, who perceived with regret that while Ptolemy was possessed of the isle of Cyprus, it was impossible to defend the southern coast of Lesser Asia against naval descents. He had at length equipped a fleet fully equal to that of the Egyptian satrap; and the acquisition of Cyprus, while it secured his other dominions, would give him, he expected, the decided sovereignty of the seas. A most unjustifiable transaction on the part of his rival, loudly summoned to that quarter the fiercest rage of the war. Ever since Ptolemy had acquired the ascendancy in Cyprus, his half brother Menelaus had remained there, commanding a sufficient body of forces to overawe the petty princes, among whom the island had long been divided. The venerable line of Teucer and Evagoras, the most illustrious in the country, had transferred its government from Salamis, the ancient capital, to the Arcadian¹⁹ colony of Paphos, ennobled by the partial fondness of the fairest and softest of all the female deities. Within the limits of a narrow jurisdiction, in a narrow but wealthy island, the descendents of Teucer still displayed the magnificence of royalty; and the reigning prince, Nicocles, a hereditary name, endeared by the virtues of those who had borne it²⁰, rivalled the glory of his ancestors in arts and letters, enjoyed the affections

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Is sent by
Antigonus
to make the
conquest of
Cyprus.
Olymp.
exviii. 2.
B. C. 307.

State of
that island.

¹⁹ Athenæus, l. xv. p. 676. ²⁰ History of Ancient Greece, vol. iii. c. 28

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Tragical
events that
had been
occasioned
there by
the cruel
orders of
Ptolemy.
Olymp.
evii. 3.
B. C. 310.

of his subjects, and flourished in the midst of a numerous and happy family, conspicuous for domestic concord. The ambition of Alexander's successors, by degrading the dignity of Cyprus, arrested the long unaltered course of its peaceful prosperity. A prince who boasted his descent from the line of Ajax and Achilles, could not patiently brook vassalage under an upstart Macedonian. Nicocles longed to throw off the ignominious yoke; his defection was encouraged by Antigonus; but the measures concerted for his emancipation, escaped not the spies of Ptolemy; who, upon the first hint of the conspiracy, sent two of his own friends into Cyprus, to punish the rebel by death. These friends and assassins furnished with troops by Menelaus, in compliance with orders from his brother and master, surrounded the Paphian palace, and eagerly demanded the king, to whom they announced the stern command of their employer. Resistance would have proved fruitless; excuse was inadmissible; and no delay was allowed. The miserable monarch perished by his own hand, in the midst of his family²¹. His queen Axiothea²², whom Ptolemy had shown a desire to save; disdained to survive her husband. Having previously consigned to death her virgin daughters, she prevailed with her numerous sisters-in-law, to share her untimely fate. The wretched brothers of Nicocles, carrying into real life the most frightful fictions of tragedy, then set fire to the palace, and expired amidst the ruins of their own and their country's grandeur²³; since, after this miserable catastrophe of the royal house, Cyprus never thenceforward aspired to the dignity of independent government.

Demetrius'
success in
Cyprus.
Olymp.
exviii. 2.
B. C. 307.

To promote the political views of his father, and to avenge atrocious cruelties, Demetrius was ordered to Cyprus with the greater part of his fleet. He quitted Greece with reluctance, after a fruitless attempt to gain Corinth and Sicyon, by tempting with high bribes Cleonidas, who commanded for Ptolemy in these cities; and after he had

²¹ Polyznus, l. viii. c. 48.

Athenæus, l. i. c. 3. and l. viii. c. 9

²² The names are mangled in

²³ Diodor. l. xv. s. 21.

confirmed his unalterable friendship with the Athenians, by marrying Euridice, lineal descendent to Miltiades, the renowned hero of Marathon. In his way to Cyprus, he landed and refreshed in the maritime province of Cilicia. When he quitted that coast, his fleet consisted of an hundred and eighty ships of war, far exceeding the ordinary rate of ancient galleys, since they had most of them five, six, or seven banks of oars. His transports conveyed fifteen thousand foot, three hundred horse, together with the implements and engines most useful in encampments and sieges. On the northern coast of Cyprus, the feeble communities of Urania and Carpasia, yielded to the mere terror of his arms. As he advanced southward to Salamis, he was opposed by Menelaus, with an army inferior to his own in foot, but far superior in cavalry. A battle ensued, in which the unequal brother of Ptolemy, was defeated with the loss of a thousand slain, and three thousand made prisoners; and being thus driven from the open country, was obliged to seek protection within his walls²⁴. Demetrius Siege of Salamis.— speedily formed the siege of Salamis; and first employed The Helepolis. on this occasion the most famous of all those machines, that did honour to his invention, and which, till the discovery of gunpowder, continued the most formidable offensive weapon against well fortified cities. From its use, it was called the Helepolis. According to the original structure of this engine, it consisted of nine stories, gradually diminishing as they rose in altitude. Each side of this movable pyramid was ninety cubits high: its base measured an hundred and eighty cubits in circuit; its different compartments were filled with armed men, and provided with various contrivances for darting missiles, those of greatest weight from the stories near the base²⁵. The base itself, a huge quadrangle supported on massy wheels, was composed of solid beams strongly compacted with iron, and sufficiently remote from each other, to allow room for the strenuous labourers within, who propelled and directed

²⁴ Diodor. l. xx. s. 47. and Plutarch in Demet. ²⁵ Diodor. l. xx. s. 48.

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this enormous colossus; whose form in process of time received many alterations and improvements. Combined with the battering ram, it assailed fortresses²⁶ not merely by repeated missiles, but with its continuous and entire force. Demetrius indeed employed it chiefly in the former way; but with such extraordinary effect, that while the darts and javelins thrown from the upper embrasures, swept the defenders from their walls, its more ponderous artillery of metal, stones or rather rock ejected from the lower compartments, are said to have been sufficient to shake the firmest bulwarks and bastions. The vastness and novelty of the Helepolis, alarmed the Salaminians, but did not abash them. They exerted themselves vigorously in their own defence, opposing the contrivances of Demetrius with similar, and sometimes superior address; since by a dexterous application of ignited weapons, they almost destroyed in a single night the batteries that he had raised against them by the unremitting labour of many weeks.

Prepara-
tions for
the seafight
between
Demetrius
and Ptole-
my.

Before he had an opportunity of trying a new experiment with his Helepolis, and displaying in its full extent that genius for sieges, which procured for him his title of Poliorcetes²⁷, he was summoned to a sea fight against Ptolemy in person. The Egyptian satrap, having been duly apprised of the operations in Cyprus, sailed from Pelusium, landed first at Paphos, and afterwards at Citium, only twenty miles distant from Salamis. His fleet amounted to an hundred and fifty ships of war, most of them exceeding the rate of trireme galleys, though much inferior in size to the ships of the enemy. His transports conveyed above twelve thousand men, and were attended with innumerable small craft furnished by the Cyprian cities, acknowledging his dominion. In the harbour of Salamis, his brother Menelaus commanded sixty galleys, which, according to the orders that Ptolemy had found means to convey to them, were to break forth

²⁶ Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii;
c. 9.

²⁷ Urbium expugnator, as Pliny
translates it.

and assail the enemy in time of action; a stratagem, that when the strength of the adverse parties was nearly balanced, had often proved decisive. As Ptolemy hoped to enjoy this advantage, he thought, that without departing from the rules of prudence which usually regulated his conduct, he might venture a general engagement, and stake his well established reputation against the yet dawning fame of Demetrius. But before making the dispositions for battle, he sent a message to his rival, exhorting him by their past friendship to be gone in time, instead of remaining to be crushed in pieces by superior force. Demetrius replied in the same boastful strain, that for the present he would allow Ptolemy to make his escape, provided he ceded to him Corinth and Sicyon. These vain bravadoes were preludes to an action that was to decide the fate of Cyprus, the command of the Mediterranean sea, and the pretensions of two illustrious commanders; who respectively founded the royal houses of Egypt and Macedon.

In the night, Ptolemy endeavoured to open a communication with Menelaus, in the harbour of Salamis. Before this object was effected the day began to break, and the first rays of morning discovered to him Demetrius' fleet, carefully anchored at a due distance from the walls and engines of the place, and skilfully interposed between himself and the friendly shore; and as the harbour of Salamis was narrow, Demetrius, he found, had blocked it up with only ten vessels, which would intercept sixty of his own from bringing aid in the battle. These vexatious circumstances greatly mortified Ptolemy: but an action could not honourably be declined; and the experience of a long military life, had taught the brother and biographer of Alexander, that in critical emergencies, courage is the greatest prudence. He advanced therefore boldly and ostentatiously to the attack, his armament being swelled in appearance by his transports and other vessels hastily collected from the Cyprian cities. But the

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Great victory gained by Demetrius. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307.

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alacrity of Demetrius dispelled all alarm on the score of unequal force. When the adverse squadrons were within half a mile of each other, he commanded to weigh anchor; raised a golden shield, the concerted signal; the trumpets summoned to combat; both parties invoked their common gods; and both resounding the same military Pæan, consenting choirs of hostile voices mixed in one majestic stream of full Grecian harmony. Besides the superior size of their galleys, after the Greeks had armed themselves with the wealth and resources of Asia, great improvements had been made in the construction and application of what may be called their artillery. The missile weapons were more ingeniously formed; the engines which darted them were of greater efficacy; and the loftier platform from which they were discharged, gave to the instruments of mischief a surer aim, a wider range, and a more impetuous force. But the principal assault still depended on the nimble activity of the galleys themselves, and those decisive movements, by which, with their armed prows, they rased the adversary's sides, swept away his oars, and often, by a stroke uniting good fortune with dexterity, buried his whole vessel in the deep. The utmost exertion of naval manœuvre, as practised by the ancients, was perseveringly displayed in this arduous conflict. Demetrius is celebrated for adorning the functions of a great admiral, with the hardy intrepidity of an experienced seaman; and according to the custom of Grecian commanders, with whom example was preferred to mere precept, for completing his glory, by the slaughter of many enemies with his own hand. Of his three lifeguards two were grievously wounded; the third died by his side. His enterprise was rewarded with a great and decisive victory, ascribed partly to the superior size of his galleys, and partly to his seasonable obstruction of the Salaminian harbour, by which sixty of the enemy's ships were cut off from the scene of action. Ptolemy had been at first successful against the squadron which he opposed in person; but in the issue, forty of his ships were taken with

their crews²⁸; eighty were dashed in pieces or sunk; eight thousand men were captured aboard his transports. The harbour and city of Salamis accumulated new prizes on the victor; the former a fleet of sixty sail; the latter a garrison of twelve thousand foot, with twelve hundred horse: and the conquest of the Cyprian capital was followed by the speedy reduction, or voluntary surrender of other walled cities in the island.

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Amidst his arrangements for securing the valuable possession of Cyprus, Demetrius gained honour by his moderation in prosperity. The slain on both sides were lamented with the accustomed ceremonies; Menelaus, his son Leontiscus, and other kinsmen or friends of Ptolemy, were restored unransomed to Egypt. The Athenians, whose fleet of thirty galleys had reinforced his armament, were presented with twelve hundred suits of armour. In all particulars, but the choice of a messenger to announce his victory to Antigonos, Demetrius approved himself on this occasion, worthy of the signal success with which his arms had been attended. The honour of communicating such happy tidings to his father, might with propriety have been committed to his kinsman Marsyas²⁹, a brave commander, and a respectable historian; but it was intrusted to the flattering buffoon Aristodemus of Miletus, who conveyed the news in a manner suitable to the vile servility of his character³⁰.

Antigonos was then in his favourite province, where he had just built a palace in the recently founded and short-lived capital Antigonos; judiciously situate about twenty miles from the sea, near the deepest bend of the Orontes, which flows in a winding course for ten days' journey, through the finest valley of Syria. Aristodemus landed on the neighbouring coast, with orders that none of his attendants should leave the vessel. In a small boat, he proceeded to Antigonos, and thence walked slowly towards the royal

The victory announced to Antigonos by the buffoon Aristodemus.

²⁸ There are differences in the numbers as given by Diodorus, l. xx. s. 52. Plutarch in Demet. and

Justin l. xv. c. 2.

²⁹ Suidas in Voc.

³⁰ Plutarch in Demet.

CHAP. VII. palace, with a solemn countenance, and without answering a word to the crowd which began to surround him: Antigonus, apprised of his landing, had anxiously descended to the gate of the palace. Without quickening his pace, the flatterer at length approached, stretched forth his hand, and exclaimed with a loud voice, "Hail, king Antigonus." He then described the completeness and extensive consequences of Demetrius' victory.

The title of king assumed by Alexander's successors. Olymp. cxviii. 2. B. C. 307. Opinion governs the world, and is itself commonly guided by names. The flattery of Aristodemus was not rejected by Antigonus; and the royal appellation, so soothing to the ear of an ambitious usurper, was officiously repeated by the guards and attendants; the palace and capital resounded with joyous acclamations; and "long live king Antigonus" reechoed through the cities of Syria and of other countries subject to his power. In the sense of antiquity, the title of king was sometimes extended beyond the actual possession, to the expectancy of sovereign power, and the worthiness to hold it. In this manner, the honour might be communicated without losing its value. Antigonus was eager to impart it to his beloved Demetrius. After the example of these generals, Ptolemy, defeated but not dejected, assumed the ensigns and show of royalty, of which he had long enjoyed the substance. Seleucus and Lysimachus disdained to remain inferior in name, to those whom they equalled in renown. Cassander alone, respecting the ashes of the Macedonian monarchs entombed in his province, neither called himself king, nor employed the royal signet³¹. Could we believe an historian fond of popular remarks, and extremely partial to republicanism; the successors of Alexander together with their new titles, assumed new maxims, and even new sentiments. Their personal pretensions increased with their external pomp; the respect formerly received as an offering to merit, was now exacted as a tribute to rank and station; there was an end of the ancient familiarity of manners, once so inter-

Effects of that title.

³¹ Conf. Plut. in Demet. and Diodorus, l. xx. s. 53.

esting and so amiable; and though rewards grew less liberal, punishments became greatly more severe³². These evils extended with the lengthening line of their descendents. With the pride of hereditary royalty, sloth and luxury kept pace: and the followers of the most enlightened and generous prince, that adorns history, degenerated into selfish and sottish voluptuaries, adored by eastern servility, and execrated by the liberal portion of mankind in their own and all succeeding times.

The assumption of the diadem by Alexander's immediate successors created four new kingdoms³³, all of which Antigonus who treated his equals as usurpers, hoped speedily to reunite in his own person and that of his beloved Demetrius. His recent victory over Ptolemy determined him to begin with the dominions of that prince. The naval engagement off Salamis had given him the command of the sea; his land forces fell little short of the army of Alexander when at its greatest height; his rival he doubted not, must be stunned with his late dreadful defeat; he was, therefore eager to lead an expedition against Egypt, which promised the more glorious success, the sooner it was carried into execution. Yet his arrangements on this occasion indicated a full sense of the obstacles to his undertaking; the natural strength of the country, the abilities and resources of its satrap. Egypt was to be attacked at once by sea and land. For this purpose Demetrius sailed from Cyprus with an hundred and fifty galleys, besides an hundred vessels of burden, conveying his engines of battery and exhaustless stores of missile weapons. The land army assembled in the neighbourhood of Gaza; consisting of eighty thousand foot, and above ten thousand horse. A crowd of victuallers was destined to attend the fleet; and the camels collected from Arabia for accompanying

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Antigonus' expedition against Egypt. Olymp. cxviii. 3. B. C. 306.

His vast preparations.

³² Plut. *ibid*.

³³ Five kingdoms in effect, though Cassander, as we have seen, did not assume the royal title. Independently of him there were five

kings, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Antigonus, and Demetrius: but the two last mentioned held an united sovereignty.

CHAP. VII. the army, must have been numerous indeed, since among other necessities, they carried about an hundred thousand quarters of grain³⁴, or rather flour. Eighty-three elephants added terror, at least pomp, to the warfare. The whole empire was held in suspense and anxiety by this complicated armament, which, should it conquer Egypt, promised to raise its commander to universal monarchy.

Improved
state of
Egypt at
that time.

Twenty-seven years before the present expedition, that ancient and populous kingdom, which long boasted its three thousand cities, had submitted without resistance to the invasion of Alexander. Its natural defences have been at all times the same; on the Asiatic frontier, from which only it is assailable by land, a desert, a marsh, and a great river; and along its low and inhospitable coast, either dangerous banks of concealed sand, or perpetual ledges of blind rocks. But its artificial bulwarks had undergone an important change. The loss of two hundred galleys had not ruined Ptolemy's defensive navy. The military resources of the country had wonderfully increased. Even the melancholy character of the natives had been raised and ennobled by the indulgent policy and liberal encouragement of their sovereign. While other countries oppressed in peace, after being desolated in war, had declined from the splendour of sovereign states into the obscurity of wretched provinces, Egypt alone in the space of eighteen years under Ptolemy, had risen from the dejection of a plundered satrapy into the dignity of an independent and flourishing kingdom; enriched by commerce, enlarged by conquest, and strongly defended by numerous and well provided garrisons.

Disasters
which com-
pelled An-
tigonus to
retreat.

Antigonus fatally experienced the importance of this alteration. The obstinacy of old age, for he was now in his eightieth year, heightened the calamities that awaited him. His preparations were not completed till October, about the setting of the Pleiades, when the weather is usually stormy,

³⁴ Diodor. l. xx. s. 73. It is allowable to suspect both the accuracy of the numbers and the certainty of the measures.

and before the overflowing Nile has completely returned within its oozy bed. At this unfavourable season, all things being now ready, his fleet under Demetrius was ordered to sail, in opposition to the advice of experienced seamen; and about the same time he marched in person from Gaza at the head of his army. Demetrius had not been long at sea when he was assailed by a tempest from the north, which the victuallers and vessels carrying missile weapons, were not able to weather out. Many were dashed in pieces and sunk; others returned with much difficulty to the friendly shore of Gaza. Demetrius anchored five furlongs from the coast, and had the mortification to see his vessels foundering amidst sands or beating against rocks, without the possibility of affording to them any assistance, or of saving any part of their crews, since those who escaped from shipwreck fell into the hands of the Egyptians, pleased spectators, at land, of disasters which they were eager to augment. Had the storm lasted a day longer, the whole fleet must have perished; and this danger still threatened, when the army of Antigonus emerged from his toilsome march through the desert. By his arrival, some weatherbeaten vessels might obtain a safe landing place; but he found it impossible to bring about any useful cooperation between his fleet and army. He stood on the eastern margin of the Delta with a resistless force, could he have transported his men across the swollen Nile. All the mouths of that river were defended by Ptolemy's garrisons and innumerable armed vessels. At Pseudastomus, Phatnicus³⁵, and every other inlet by which Demetrius attempted to penetrate, the resistance was ready and unsurmountable. The Pelusiac, or great eastern branch, was guarded with equal vigilance against Antigonus. In addition to these difficulties, provisions and water grew scarce; while Ptolemy's emissaries sowed sedition in the hostile camp, and by vast promises and bribes tempted many malcontents to desertions. The difficulties of the invaders must have been

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³⁵ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1153. and Ptolemy, l. iv. p. 116.

CHAP. VII. extreme, before the loftiness of the new kings, the obstinate pride of the father, and the warm confidence of the son, could condescend to the mortifying arrangements for securing their retreat. Antigonus varnished that disgraceful measure by summoning a council of his principal officers, who unanimously advised him to defer the conquest of Egypt to a more favourable season of the year. Ptolemy, with his usual prudence, would have been glad to make a bridge of gold for a retiring enemy. He thanked the propitious gods with solemn games and costly sacrifices; and in a pompous embassy communicated the good tidings to Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, who, he hoped, would rejoice at his thus happily baffling the rapacious designs of their common enemy³⁶.

Why Antigonus determines to make war on Rhodes. Olymp. cxviii. 4. B. C. 305.

Novelty of the city Rhodes.

Antigonus had failed in his undertaking against the great body of the Egyptian monarchy; but his vast preparations, he thought, might still be employed with success in reducing its most valuable appendages. One arm had been lopped off by the conquest of Cyprus; another remained, the flourishing island of Rhodes, which for seven years past had been intimately united with Egypt both by interest and affection. After the death of Alexander, the Rhodians, who had been honoured with distinguished marks of his regard, erected themselves, as we have seen, into an independent commonwealth, in apparent friendship with all his successors, by whom, though, its prosperity might be envied, its power, also, was respected. The capital of the island, bearing the same name, had been founded only four³⁷ years before the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war; and the comparative novelty of this city, as well as of Byzantium, which two alone preserved the genuine fire of liberty, extinguished on all sides around them, might seem to countenance the opinion that commonwealths like individuals have their youth, maturity, and decrepitude. When Athens, Sparta, and the

³⁶ Diodor. l. xviii. s. 74, 75, & 76. Attic. c. 6.

Plutarch in Demet. and Pausanias

³⁷ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 967.

other illustrious republics of ancient Greece, had sunk into the last stages of decay, the youthful communities of Rhodes and Byzantium were animated with the generous spirit of freedom, and ennobled by those virtues of policy and prowess by which only it can be nourished and defended.

Yet this plausible observation is applicable only to the *city* History of the island. not to the *island* of Rhodes, which latter vied in the antiquity of its renown with the most venerable royalties, or commonwealths, of the heroic ages. Before the dawn of recorded history, Rhodes had contended with Athens herself for the partial affection of Minerva³⁸. Apollo chose the bright island, yet latent in the watery deep, for the scene of his peculiar reign³⁹; and in the figurative language of Homer and Pindar, Jupiter poured down a golden shower on the industrious and skilful Rhodians. Their cities, Lindus, Ialysus, and the shining Cameirus⁴⁰, are celebrated by the former of those lofty poets; and from the latter, we learn that nearly five centuries before the Christian era, the crowded seaports of the Rhodians were decorated with magnificent edifices, and their streets adorned with breathing marbles⁴¹. The towering ridges of Atabyrius, which overlooked their island, were crowded with splendid monuments, particularly the temple of Jupiter, from which that bountiful divinity surveyed with complacency the unwearied labours of his peaceful and ingenious votaries⁴². In these poetical eulogies we may discern that intimate connexion between commerce and superstition which has been pointed out and illustrated in other parts of this history; and the account formerly given of the flourishing traffic of the Asiatic peninsula, receives confirmation from the industry and opulence of Rhodes, an Island separated by a narrow frith of five

³⁸ Pindar, Olymp. Ode vii.

³⁹ Pindar also celebrates "Rhodes the daughter of Venus and bride of the sun," ὤμων παῖδ' ἀφροδίτης ἡλίου τε νύμφην Ῥόδον. The Scholiast says, that the Island derived the former title from its flowers and beauty; and Solinus, c. 17. believes the latter bestowed on it,

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because a day never passes at Rhodes in which the sun is not at some time visible.

⁴⁰ Homer, Il. l. ii. v. 670.

⁴¹ Ἔργα δὲ ζωοῖσι ἱερῶντι τισὶ θεοῖσιν καλυθεῖσι φρον. Pindar, *ibid.* Conf. Diodor. l. xix. c. 45.

⁴² Pindar, *ibid.*

CHAP. miles from that continent; and which displayed wonderful
 VII. resources within its diminutive territory of only thirty miles
 in length and fifteen in breadth.

Its produc-
 tive and
 commer-
 cial indus-
 try.

Its productive and commercial industry, the genuine source of public happiness, continued through the dark ages of traditionary fame down to that celebrated war of twenty-seven years, by which Greece and most of her islands were afflicted, through the combined evils of foreign invasion and domestic sedition. During the agitations of that furious conflict, Rhodes preserved her peaceful prosperity; and towards its conclusion, beheld, as we have before observed, the foundation and completion of her splendid and permanent capital.

Close con-
 nexion
 with
 Egypt.

This capital, situate at the eastern extremity of the island, rose in the form of a theatre ⁴³, looking directly towards the Embolus or beak ⁴⁴, a name bestowed on the southern promontory of Caria. The Rhodians traded with all the countries around them; and their two harbours, nearly contiguous to each other, formed the hope of industrious merchants, and terror of pirates. They had hitherto lived on good terms with all the Macedonian generals, who commanded the adjacent coasts; and had allowed Antigonus, as we have before seen, to avail himself of their skilful artisans, and to equip fleets in their harbours. But for several years past, as the war between Antigonus and Seleucus had destroyed the traffic through Upper Asia that used to center in the cities of Phœnicia, the Rhodians had peculiarly connected themselves with Egypt, which then wholly engrossed the highly prized commodities of the East, whether conveyed to it by Arabs, Indians, or its own merchantmen. From Alexandria in Egypt, the Rhodians diffused the spices, perfumes, gems, and other articles indispensable in the luxury and superstition of antiquity over all the coasts of the west. This commercial intercourse, which had been warmly encouraged by the Egyptian satrap, now king Ptolemy, had produced the

⁴³ *Θεατρικὸς ὄρος τῆς Ρόδου*. Diodor. l. xix. c. 45.

⁴⁴ Schol. in Pind. Olymp. Ode vii.

grateful attachment of the Rhodians to that prince; from whose dominions, besides, they derived continual supplies of grain, essential to a country, teeming with population, yet destitute of tillage: for the territory of Rhodes was entirely dedicated to gardens and vineyards. The excellence of its wines recommended them to the peculiar purpose of religious libations and festivals⁴⁵. Its flowers and fruits enjoyed an equal preeminence; and those gifts of nature instead of superseding, as usually happens, had stimulated the stubborn exertions of laborious industry. In opposition to the general custom of antiquity⁴⁶, the houses of the Rhodians, both in town and country, were solidly built of stone. Their capital was strongly fortified by sea and land⁴⁷, watered by innumerable conduits⁴⁸ from the neighbouring mountains, and provided with all conveniences and ornaments, that wealth can purchase, or ingenuity invent.

But the greatest ornament of Rhodes was the wisdom of its magistrates. At the same time that they bridled the multitude by every salutary restraint, they had contrived to gain its affection by humanity and bounty. Whatever regarded the marine, the sinews of their power, was a mystery to all but the magistrates. To enter the docks without permission, was a capital offence; and to pry into any secrets respecting the naval department, was prohibited under the penalties of banishment or death. To work, not to speak, to exercise their strength, not their judgment, were the duties required from the Rhodian citizens, whose labour was richly rewarded, and whose habitual diligence insured a kindly support during sickness or old age⁴⁹. Good policy enforced this dictate of compassion, or rather justice; and so natural is the connexion between liberality and traffic, that by an immemorial law, the Rhodian people were either to be provided with employment by their superiors, or comfortably subsis-

⁴⁵ Non ego te, mensis et Dijs accepta secundis, Transierim, Rhodia.—
ing *ὡς πλεονεξίας ἀλλὰ λιθίνης*. Diod. l. xix. s. 45.

Virgil, *Geor.* ii. 101. ⁴⁷ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 652.

⁴⁸ Diodorus intimates this by saying *ὁχετοί*. Diodor. *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 653.

CHAP. VII. ted at the public expense. The burden of too numerous a progeny was alleviated at the charge of the state; and a superabundant family, which is the terror of beggarly peasants, formed the object of hope or of joy in this commercial commonwealth.

Maritime laws.

According to the experience of antiquity, the best of all governments was held to be a moderate aristocracy, in which the two great divisions of "men employed in the exercise of the head and of the hand," were connected by the reciprocal ties of respectful obedience and indulgent protection. Under such a political arrangement, the naval cities of Athens, Carthage, and Marseilles⁵⁰, as well as the military republics of Sparta and Rome, earned their fairest fame, and attained their meridian prosperity. Rhodes acquired equal and less invidious distinction, and increased it by means equally honourable to herself and useful to her neighbours. Instead of applying their marine to the purposes of depredation or ambition, the Rhodian senators directed it to the extirpation of pirates, who, issuing from the winding coasts of Asia Minor, and especially from the creeks of Cilicia, in all ages infested the Mediterranean. In thus protecting general traffic, they merited the good will of all civilized nations. They deserved it still farther by the wisdom and equity of their laws, which first introduced principles of reason and utility in matters respecting the sea; an element which, except by themselves, the Lycians, and a few cities of Greece and Phœnicia, had hitherto been universally abandoned to anarchy, and deformed by every species of disorder, of which it appeared to be the native and incorrigible region⁵¹. The maritime laws of the Rhodians were adopted into the jurisprudence of Rome⁵², and thence diffused through the world. If their scattered fragments still excite admiration, to what high praise must the whole have been entitled in the comparatively unenlightened age in which they were enacted?

⁵⁰ Cicero Orat. pro Valer. Flac.

⁵¹ Isocrat. Orat. de Pace.

⁵² Pandect, l. xiv. Tit. 2. de lege Rhodca, de jactu.

Such was the enviable condition of the Rhodians, when eighteen years after the death of Alexander, Demetrius, by order of his father, required their assistance in his Cyprian expedition. Their connexion with Ptolemy, above explained, could not fail to produce a refusal; they conveyed it, however, in the least offensive terms; as their cautious policy had hitherto engaged them, not only to live on good terms with all Alexander's fortunate generals, but to court them by embassies, to honour them with statues, to relieve occasionally the wants of all, while they carefully avoided to adopt the resentments of any, or involve themselves in their quarrels. Intoxicated with his conquest of Cyprus, and the affected sovereignty of the seas, Antigonus determined to punish the disobedience of the Rhodians to his most unjustifiable demand. At first he sent a squadron of stout galleys to distress their trade, and particularly to interrupt the perpetual navigation between their island and Egypt. The injured Rhodians, anxious as they were to preserve amity with so great a king, could not tamely brook the violation of their property. They armed vigorously for defence, and chased the fleet of Antigonus from their coasts ⁵³.

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The Rhodians chase Antigonus' squadron from their coast.

This becoming boldness was construed into an act of hostility, that ought to be followed by the severest vengeance. The peaceful Rhodians, still willing to temporize, decreed new honours to Antigonus and his son, and endeavoured to soothe them by a submissive embassy. Their embassy was answered by the approach of two hundred ships of war, which, under the command of Demetrius, anchored at Loricæ on the Carian coast, directly opposite to their harbours. His transports conveyed forty thousand men, with a due proportion of cavalry: engines, weapons, and military stores had been provided in the utmost profusion; and the royal fleet was accompanied by more than a thousand vessels belonging

Demetrius sails to Rhodes with a great armament. Olymp. exviii. 4. B. C. 305.

⁵³ Diodor. l. xx. s. 82.

CHAP. VII. to merchants or pirates, who hoped to ravish the spoils of a wealthy and yet virgin island⁵⁴.

Demetrius encamps on the island, which is ravaged by his partisans and the accompanying pirates.

The report of such powerful preparations might have filled the Rhodians with alarm. But the theatrical form of their city enabled them distinctly to behold the gleams of armour flashing from an armament, whose magnitude crowded their narrow seas. In approaching Rhodes, the ships of war formed a line in front: they were followed by vessels heavily laden with darts and engines, and slowly towed along by lighter galleys; the pirates came last, though their cruel service was to be first employed against a people, whose honourable opulence stimulated avidity by envy. In modern war, much time and many precautions would be required for the safe landing of so stupendous a host: but the form of ancient vessels, which rendered them less safe on deep and open seas, exempted them however from many dangers on shoaly coasts⁵⁵. The first care of Demetrius was to moor his ships at a due distance from the numerous engines, mounting the walls of Rhodes. Having effected this purpose, he sent forth his pirates and partisans to ravage the adjacent shores, and collect materials for inclosing a camp. In the course of this service a hasty desolation overspread the gardens and beautiful villas, which formed the delight and the pride of those long fortunate Islanders. An encampment, however, was marked out, and fortified: a new and capacious harbour built for the invading armament; and the approach to the capital of Rhodes were carefully smoothed, and secured on either side by entrenchments.

Measures pursued by the Rhodians in this extremity.

During these operations, repeated embassies were sent to Demetrius, in which the Rhodians offered even to relinquish their alliance with Ptolemy. But the invader deeming this

⁵⁴ Diodor. *ibid*.

⁵⁵ The water is deep at a little distance from the coast, but grows

suddenly shallow near the ancient harbours and other parts of the shore.

proposal merely the effect of present terror, demanded an hundred hostages from their noblest families, and the immediate reception of his fleet into their harbours. In this extremity, the Rhodians manned their fleet, distributed their troops along the walls, repaired and multiplied their engines, and as their superiority in seamanship enabled them to command the outlets of their ports and break through the enemy's line, sent news of their situation to Seleucus, Lysimachus, Cassander, above all to Ptolemy, requiring immediate aid in a warfare in which they had involved themselves rather than depart from their friendly engagements with those princes. At the same time an unserviceable crowd of slaves and strangers was dismissed from the besieged city, and the useful portion of both was encouraged heartily to cooperate in the public defence; the former by the reward of personal freedom, the latter by a participation in future of all municipal rights. Yet in this moment of alarm, private property met with its due respect. The slaves to be enrolled as soldiers were first regularly purchased from their respective masters. Of such labouring citizens as should fall in battle, the families were to be maintained at the public expense; their daughters were to be dowered by the treasury; and their sons, on attaining the age of manhood, to be presented with a complete suit of armour in the theatre of Bacchus during the solemnity of his crowded festival ⁵⁶.

Demetrius directed his arms against the harbour of Rhodes, should these first surrender, the city itself would soon be driven by famine to submission. For the assault on the harbours, he provided two lofty towers, overtopping their highest defences, and floated each tower on firm and well-poised hulks. The higher compartments of these floating batteries were adapted to various forms of catapults, throwing weapons of different shapes and magnitudes; and the lower stories were provided with ballistas that discharged stones of an hundred pounds weight. The towers and hulks were

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Rhodes besieged.—
Extraordinary efforts on the side of both assailants and defenders.

⁵⁶ Diodor. l. xx. s. 83.

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encompassed on either side with huge penthouses, and defended in front by a floating rampart: the whole accompanied with innumerable armed vessels, manned chiefly with Cretans as marines. His first attack was rendered ineffectual through a sudden storm. He renewed it next morning with music of trumpets and shouts of acclamation, but was so warmly received by the besieged that, after suffering more harm than he inflicted, he thought proper towards evening to sound a retreat. The Rhodians pursued him with fire-ships, and but for his movable rampart, might have succeeded in burning his machines. But this, while it defended his towers, enabled him to retort the ignited weapons of the enemy with such effect, that most of their vessels were consumed, and their crews were sometimes arrested by his javelins while they swam to the friendly shore. During eight successive days, the same mode of warfare was renewed until Demetrius' machines were so much shattered that he was obliged to repair them in the harbour which he had fortified upon first landing in the island. When his preparations were completed, he returned to the charge, and was on the point of making a successful assault, when his operations were baffled through the singular enterprise of three Rhodian vessels, filled with chosen men, prepared to encounter certain death in the service of their country. Their impetuosity penetrated through a cloud of darts, broke asunder the floating rampart though strongly compacted and plated with iron, assaulted with their prows the hulks bearing Demetrius' machines, and filled two of them with water. Having performed this signal service, two Rhodian commanders escaped unhurt to their own shore; but Exacestus, commanding the admiral galley, ventured to assail a third hulk, which had been taken in tow by the enemy. His noble ardour cost him his ship and his life⁵⁷; but the immortal exploit was not lost to his country, since it taught the invaders against what consummate skill and valour they would yet be obliged to contend.

⁵⁷ Diodor. l. xx. s. 85, 86, 87, & 88.

The attention of every part of the empire was fixed on this memorable siege; and almost every city or province beyond the immediate jurisdiction of Antigonus, testified anxious solicitude for the safety of the Rhodians. Upon the first intelligence of their danger, Cassander and Lysimachus had sent to them supplies of corn: Ptolemy succoured them more powerfully with men as well as with various kinds of provisions. Demetrius saw the necessity of using the utmost expedition in an undertaking universally unpopular; which at once enraged his enemies, and disgusted his allies. Hitherto the attacks on the land side had been only feints to aid the great operations at sea. But he now determined to try whether the city itself was equally capable of resistance with its unconquerable harbours. The Helepolis, employed on this occasion, resembled in form, but far exceeded in dimensions that used in the siege of Salamis⁵⁸. Its towers were an hundred and fifty feet high; it was supported on eight enormous wheels, and propelled by the labour of three thousand four hundred men. Its sides were plated with iron; the port-holes were defended by valves of raw hide, thickly covered with wool; and it was prepared to resist fire by the skilful distribution of water through every part of its immense bulk. Demetrius constructed also ten penthouses, eight of which accompanied and guarded the Helepolis; and the two others carried battering rams, shaped like the beak of a galley, but each of them an hundred and eight feet long. While these machines were preparing by the unremitting exertions of thirty thousand workmen, Demetrius made trial of the less operose expedients of mining and treachery. His mines, however, were successfully countermined by the enemy; and Athenagoras, the Milesian, commanding Ptolemy's reinforcement, pretended to listen to the proposal of defection, only that he might gain an opportunity of insnaring the seducer⁵⁹.

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succoured
by Ptole-
my, Cas-
sander and
Lysima-
chus.Demetrius'
engines

⁵⁸ Epimachus the Athenian had a principal share in the contrivances of this Helepolis used against Rhodes. Athenæi Liber. de Machin. Bellic. p. 7.

⁵⁹ Diodor. l. xx. s. 93.

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VII.and opera-
tions.—Three bold
attacks
more bold-
ly resisted.

Demetrius finally had recourse to his engines. With these he made three strenuous attacks, since he thrice effected a breach in the walls, but of which the bad consequences had been anticipated by a second and third line of bulwarks behind those which had fallen. After thus resisting the first assault, the Rhodians endeavoured to destroy the enemy's machines in the night; and, to the astonishment of Demetrius himself, directed against his Helepolis fifteen hundred darts and eight hundred fire-balls⁶⁰. That wooden edifice could have escaped conflagration only through the ingenious machinery above mentioned, with which it was furnished. The second attack, assisted by a feint at sea, proved fatal to many of the besiegers as well as of the besieged: among the latter, historians regret Amelnias, a noble Rhodian, illustriously distinguished in former scenes of the war, who fell after a heroic defence in the arms of victory. The last assault was of all the most complicated and the most desperate. Having effected a breach in the wall, but which was not found practicable, Demetrius selected fifteen hundred men of tried valour, and totally devoted to his service. They were ordered in the dead of night to surprise the Rhodians who guarded the ditches and defences behind this narrow and difficult inlet; and having thus insinuated themselves into the city, to take post in the market-place. It was expected that the confusion and terror occasioned by the appearance of armed men within the walls, would withdraw the Rhodians from their fortifications, and leave many parts of them unguarded in the morning, at the first dawn of which the city, on a given signal, was to be attacked on all sides by sea and land. Demetrius' *forlorn hope* succeeded in their arduous enterprise, and gained possession of the great theatre in the market-place: the lamentable wailings of women and children filled the streets of Rhodes as if the place had been already taken by storm: but when the concerted operations began at day break, it was found that not a Rhodian

⁶⁰ Diodor. l. xx. s. 97.

soldier had quitted his post. This unaltered firmness in despising triumphant acclamations and all the vain terrors of war, was inspired by the admirable presence of mind of the Rhodian senators, who gave strict orders to resist with unabating vigilance and energy the assailants from without, while a party of themselves heading the auxillaries recently sent by Ptolemy, undertook to deal with the enemies that had stolen within their city. Their measures concerted with wisdom, were executed with corresponding bravery. The hostile troops in the theatre and market-place were put to the sword, after a desperate resistance, in which they slew Damoteles, the president of the Rhodian senate, who disdained not in this moment of emergency, the manual duties of a soldier, and thus sealed by his blood, the glory which he had justly earned both as a statesman and general⁶¹.

Demetrius had scarcely made his last unsuccessful attempt against Rhodes, when various causes combined to bring to conclusion a siege, which, during a complete year, had now fruitlessly exercised the ingenuity of Greece, and exhausted the wealth of Asia. The impatient old age of Antigonus had exhorted his son on any honourable terms, to terminate his undertaking. Ambassadors from every Grecian community, that either in Asia or Europe affected the honour of independence, plied him with perpetual intercessions in favour of an admired commonwealth, the favourite and benefactress of the whole commercial world. On one occasion, not less than fifty ambassadors from different states crowded his camp at the same time, all heartily joining in the same earnest petition. But the circumstance which chiefly engaged him to raise the siege, was a concurrent deputation from the Athenians and Etolians⁶², not only joining in the great general request,

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Ambassadors from fifty states at once intercede for the Rhodians.

The siege raised and principal reason why. Olymp. cxix. 1. B. C. 340.

⁶¹ Diodor. l. xx. s. 98.

tarch in Demet. p. 307. and Pausan.

⁶² Conf. Diodor. l. xx. s. 99. Plu- l. i. c. 26.

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but urging Demetrius to sail to their immediate assistance, against the machinations of Cassander, who, during the occupation of their protector in a distant quarter, had increased his partisans, and greatly enlarged his usurped possessions in both divisions of ancient Greece. To be the deliverer of this illustrious country, was the favourite passion of Demetrius. With this glorious object, the conquest of Rhodes could not bear any comparison; and the expected attainment of it furnished him with honourable pretence, of which Antigonus desired him to lay hold, for terminating an unpropitious and unpopular warfare.

Incidents
favourable
to concilia-
tion con-
spiring
with this
main rea-
son.

During the siege itself, incidents also had occurred tending to revive the spirit of conciliation and amity. Amidst the fury of attack, and the obstinacy of resistance, a few individuals exasperated at their private losses, had proposed to destroy the statues formerly erected by the Rhodians, in honour of Demetrius and his father. But the manly sense of the community rejected this contemptible revenge. Demetrius naturally respected a people, who opposed him with superior address and prowess; and whose preeminence was equally conspicuous in arts and arms. His susceptible and generous mind warmly embraced men cultivating pursuits congenial to his own. He admired, and probably could recite, the highly poetical strains of the Rhodian Simmias⁶³; he contemplated and studied the far famed sculpture of

Protopogenes
the painter.

Chares: he affectionately embraced the contemporary merit of Protopogenes, who, amidst the din of arms remained tranquil in his suburban villa, patiently finishing those celebrated works which placed him in the first rank of Grecian painters. In a visit made to him, Demetrius expressed admiration at his unaltered serenity amidst the tumult of war. Protopogenes replied, "that Demetrius," he well knew, "did not wage war with the arts:" an ingenious and pleasing answer, which was

⁶³ This poet must not be confounded with the younger Simmias, (of whom hereafter,) who wrote poems in the form of eggs and hatchets.

rewarded by the young prince with the immediate appointment of a trusty guard to protect the house of Protogenes ⁶⁴.

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These reciprocal civilities conspired with the weightier reasons above mentioned, in disposing both parties to an accommodation. The conditions of the treaty were, that the Rhodians should enjoy their well defended liberties, but become allies to Antigonus, without however being bound to take part with him in the war against Ptolemy. As the pledge of their sincerity, they granted a hundred hostages, to be chosen from the whole body of the citizens, except only the members of the government. Upon these terms Demetrius withdrew his armament, leaving the island unransomed, ungarrisoned, and independent ⁶⁵.

Conditions
of peace
granted
to the
Rhodians.
Olymp.
cxix. 1. B.
C. 304.

For this unexpected deliverance, the Rhodians thanked their gods by a solemn festival, combining elegant pleasures with gross superstitions. They whose cautious policy had rejected the proposal of demolishing the statues of their enemies Antigonus and Demetrius, were forward in honouring with new statues their benefactors, Cassander and Lysimachus. On Ptolemy, their great ally, they conferred the title of Soter, the saviour, which thenceforward distinguished that prince; and sent a deputation to Hammon in Libya, in order to obtain the Oracle's consent for worshipping him as a divinity. The holy shrine approved the deification of a prince whose caravans supplied numerous retainers to the grove and temple of Hammon. Furnished with this authority, the Rhodians consecrated a quadrangular space, extending six hundred and twenty-five feet in front. It was called the Ptolemeion, adorned with a grove and altar, and distinguished by the regular return of games and sacrifices. At the same time that they performed this act of gratitude, the Rhodians were diligent in repairing their city, and in rebuilding those temples and theatres which had been reluctantly demolished, to supply materials for walls and battlements ⁶⁶.

Honours
decreed by
the Rhodians
to the
kings, their
allies.

⁶⁴ Plutarch in Demet.

⁶⁶ Ibid. l. xx. s. 100.

⁶⁵ Diodor. l. xx. s. 99.

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Hopes and
projects of
Antigonus.

Demetrius, meanwhile proceeded to Greece with his whole armament, consisting of three hundred and fifty sail. In his way thither, he deposited the Rhodian hostages in the strong castle of Ephesus. Antigonus, who was at this time preparing to amuse his old age, by celebrating pompous solemnities in his capital of Antigonía, expected that his son, after again rescuing Greece from the hands of Cassander, would by means of reinforcements from that country, extend his arms over Macedon and Thrace. He would then join forces with his father, who being thus master of the valour and discipline of Europe, might easily overwhelm his rivals in Egypt and the East.

Demetrius' successful expedition into Greece. Olymp. cxix. 2. B. C. 303.

In conformity with these lofty projects, Demetrius sailed through the Ægean isles, landed successively at Chalcis in Eubæa, and Aulis in Bœotia, invaded Attica; and compelled the Macedonians who had taken possession of all these countries, and were preparing to besiege Athens, to retreat with precipitation and much loss towards the straits of Thermopylæ, not less than six thousand of them, in their flight, deserting to the pursuer. In the space of a few months he thus recovered his ascendancy over all the nine states, save Thessaly, beyond the Corinthian Isthmus⁶⁷. He then entered Athens as a deliverer, and celebrated a long triumph during winter, in that beloved city, amidst the sweet soothing of flattery, and the unbridled licence of pleasure. The new Bacchus, who knew both to conquer, and how to enjoy victory, was by a decree of the republic which he had saved, lodged in the temple of his elder sister; in plainer language, Demetrius was honoured with a palace, or rather haram, in the edifice containing the Athenian treasury, immediately adjoining the Parthenon, or temple of Minerva. Thither he was accompanied by Lamia, a Cyprian courtesan, who abundantly compensated for the want of youth by the artifices of her profession. Chrysis, Demo, Anticyra, and many other blooming

Extraordinary proceedings in Athens.

⁶⁷ Diodor. l. xx. s. 100—102.

beauties, were the handmaids and substitutes of this aged sorceress, whom none of them ever rivalled in the affection of Demetrius: and the purlieus of the chaste Minerva, were besides polluted by such unnatural abominations, that in the language of Plutarch, they seemed to regain purity and holiness by comparatively innocent revels, with the frail votaries of the Paphian divinity. Yet all was lawful to him, whom the servility of the Athenians set above all law, declaring by a second decree, that every one of his words and actions was essentially adorned with justice and piety⁶⁸.

Early in the spring, Demetrius invaded the Peloponnesus, His success in Peloponnesus. of which, two principal strong-holds, Corinth, and Sicyon, were respectively garrisoned by the troops of Cassander and Ptolemy. Ægium, the best fortified among the twelve cities of Achaia, was still held by Stronbichus, who is called the lieutenant of Polysperchon, although that general worn down by old age, and the weight of his crimes, should seem to have remained careless of the affairs of Greece in the sullen gloom of his Etolian fortress. Corinth and Sicyon surrendered at the first summons; but Stronbichus defended Ægium to the last extremity, and repeatedly defied Demetrius from its walls with just, and therefore the more painful insults. The strong hold of Achaia being at length taken by assault, the audacious governor with eighty of his friends were tried, condemned, and crucified⁶⁹; a tremendous spectacle in a country, where, notwithstanding perpetual and bloody enormities, public executions of every kind were extremely unfrequent. Bura, Patra, and the inferior cities of Achaia, opened their gates to Demetrius. In the capital of Argolis, he presided at the festival of Argive Juno; and enlivened that solemnity by celebrating his nuptials with Deidamia, the sister of a prince destined to great renown, then tutoring in early youth in the school of adversity, the illustrious Pyrrhus, of Epirus, who was successively to become Demetrius' part-

⁶⁸ Plut. in Demet.⁶⁹ Diodor. l. xx. s. 103.

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Declared
general
of the
Greeks.
Olymp.
cxix. 3. B.
C. 302.

After terminating the war as successfully in Peloponnesus, as he had formerly done in the country beyond the Isthmus, Demetrius summoned the states of both divisions of Greece to Corinth, that they might still exercise the forms of that liberty, of which they had long lost the substance. The complaisant deputies from sixteen once independent republics, appointed him their general, with the same authority and honours formerly conferred by them on Philip and his immortal son. The contingents of troops by which they respectively increased his army, made his land forces amount to sixty-five thousand men. At the head of such a mighty host, he made no secret of his design of conquering Macedon and Thrace, in his way to join his father; and, after reinforcing Antigonus with the strength of Europe, of raising that prince and himself to universal empire. His lofty purposes, which good policy would have taught him to conceal, were betrayed even on the most trivial occasions. While he assumed the appellation of king, he proudly refused that title to any of his rivals; and in the hours of convivial merriment was pleased with being flattered on this score by his low parasites, who would frequently drink a health to "admiral Ptolemy", "to treasurer Lysimachus"⁷¹, "to Seleucus master of the elephants." The wildest extravagancies of Demetrius were approved, cherished and fomented by the degenerate Greeks; above all the Athenians, destined in their varying character to exhibit the most opposite extremes, and to render themselves as infamous by the meanness of servility, as their ancestors had once been illustrious through the manliness of freedom. On his way to Thessaly, the only district of Greece, which still acknowledged the authority of Cassander, Demetrius purposed to revisit Athens, and there to enjoy a second

⁷⁰ Plutarch in Pyrrho.

⁷¹ Lysimachus was exceedingly provoked at this appellation, treasurers being commonly eunuchs, of whose fidelity the Greeks had

learned in the East to entertain a high opinion. Conf. Plut. in Demet. and Xenophon de Inst. Cyr. l. vii. p. 196.

triumph. Together with this intention, he intimated to the Athenians his desire of being initiated into the mysteries of Ceres, provided they could conduct him through the whole extent of this ceremony, in the course of a single day. By an ancient and sacred law, the lesser mysteries were never to be celebrated in the same month, or the same year with the greater. But this obstacle was removed by the expedient of altering the course of time by a decree; and after the convenience of Demetrius had been thus consulted, of restoring the months and years to their accustomed order ⁷².

Cassander, meanwhile, justly alarmed not only for Thes-
saly but for Macedon itself, sent ambassadors to crave peace from Antigonus. But the latter prince, not more guarded than his son in concealing the loftiness of his ambition, would hear of no terms short of unconditional submission. This proud answer could not fail to enforce Cassander's negotiations with his neighbour Lysimachus, and with his more distant friends Seleucus and Ptolemy, all of whom, though less immediately, were not less deeply interested than himself in frustrating the arrogant pretensions of Demetrius and his father.

The circumstances, indeed, of all these princes, were at this time highly favourable to a firm and effectual alliance against their common enemies. Lysimachus, by great though obscure exertions, had extended his power over the warlike mountaineers of Hæmus and Rhodope. He had crossed the former of these barriers, and subdued the Triballi, between Mount Hæmus and the Danube. The Getæ, who on the eastern frontier of the Triballi, inhabited both banks of that river, acknowledged the superiority of his arms. The Autariadæ and other Illyrian tribes, living between the Triballi, and the shores of the Hadriatic, had experienced the valour of Lysimachus, and were ready to accompany his standard. In a word, he commanded the resources, highly important

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Servility of
the Athe-
nians.

Cassander,
peace be-
ing refused
to him, ap-
plies to Ly-
simachus,
Seleucus,
and Ptole-
my.

State of
Lysima-
chus' affairs
at this
crisis.

⁷² Plutarch in Demet.

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VII.Lysima-
chia.State of
Seleucus'
affairs.

in a military point of view, of those central provinces⁷³ between the Euxine and Hadriatic, which have long formed the iron frontier of Turkish power, and which have in all ages produced men of slow minds but vigorous bodies, as prodigal of life as they are greedy of plunder. The Greek city Calatia, confident in the strength of its walls, still maintained independence. But notwithstanding the precarious freedom of this and other seaports, Lysimachus had built up and consolidated a great military monarchy. To commemorate the success of his reign, and to procure heroic worship for his shade, he had completed his capital Lysimachia, the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus; a valuable slip of land compressed between the Hellespont and Propontis on one side, and an arm of the Ægean on the other. Near the place where Lysimachia was built, the Isthmus is only thirty-seven furlongs broad, and had been inclosed a century before this period, with a strong wall by Dercyllidas⁷⁴, the Lacedæmonian general. Thus defended on the north, the new capital of Thrace, was guarded and adorned by fortified harbours on two seas. It commanded a beautiful peninsula fifty miles long, and fifteen broad; abounding in rich corn fields, interspersed with lawns and orchards. In magnificence of prospect and conveniency of situation⁷⁵, Lysimachia was indeed inferior to Byzantium at the opposite extremity of the Propontis. But in these particulars, Byzantium surpassed all cities in the world; and its natural advantages enabled it, after the death of Alexander, to reassert in arms as well as arts, the genuine dignity of a Greek colony, and to elude the grasping usurpation of the Macedonian captains.

The circumstances of Seleucus were still more prosperous than those of the Thracian king. From the time that he had recovered Babylonia, he had employed nearly ten years in confirming his dominion over the eastern conquests of Alex-

⁷³ Diodor. l. xix. s. 73, and Memnon. apud Phot. iii. c. 27

⁷⁵ T. Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 38.

⁷⁴ History of Ancient Greece, v.

ander. His will had the force of law over the vast regions between the Euphrates and Indus. Seleucus spurned the latter boundary, and claimed for his own the valuable territory between the Indus and Ganges; then wealthier and more commercial than at the present day. But a great revolution in that country defeated his purpose. Sandracottus, an Indian by birth, had learned the art of war in the camp of Alexander. Being endowed with abilities equal to his ambition, he deceived and deserted his instructors, and gradually placed himself at the head of a great army in a country, where it should seem that military adventurers have in all ages been easily attracted to warlike and liberal standards. Sandracottus reduced the feeble Macedonian garrisons in Lahore, received the submission of their reluctant tributaries, and extended his dominion to Palibothra, now Patna, on the Ganges, which he rendered the capital of his empire.

Instead of persevering in an unprofitable war with this illustrious usurper, Seleucus gained his friendship, accepted his daughter in marriage, and, amidst other nuptial gifts, was strengthened for his western warfare, by a present of five hundred elephants⁷⁶. The treaty was maintained with great fidelity between Seleucus and his Indian father in law. By means of their steady friendship, the rich staples on the Ganges, particularly Callinypaxa, the modern Canoge, were opened to the commercial enterprise of the Greeks. In this place, the natives of Taprobana, or Ceylon, might be seen trading with the European subjects of Seleucus⁷⁷. For the convenience of caravans, a secure and spacious route called, the Royal road, was traced between the Indus and the Ganges⁷⁸. Megasthenes and Daimachus, successively resided at Palibothra, as ambassadors from Seleucus⁷⁹; and, through the wise policy of Alexander's immediate successor in the East, a part of his great plan was carried into execution, and Assyria again enriched through the commerce of India.

CHAP.
VII.

His alliance and intercourse with the Indian Sandracottus.

⁷⁶ Strabo, l. xv. p. 724. Conf. Justin. l. xv. c. 4. and Plut. in Alexand.

⁷⁸ Strabo, l. xv. p. 689. Conf. p. 708.

⁷⁷ Plin. l. vi. c. 22.

⁷⁹ Strabo, l. ii. p. 70.

CHAP. Seleucus, as well as Lysimachus, had gratified both his
 VII. vanity and his superstition, by founding a new capital dis-
 Seleucia on the Tigris. tinguished by his name. The numerous inhabitants of Baby-
 lon gradually transported themselves about forty-five miles
 northward to Seleucia on the Tigris. The situation was
 judiciously chosen in the valuable district of Nineveh or
 Bagdad, particularly described in a former part of this work;
 and which, from the local circumstances there mentioned,
 was peculiarly well calculated to be the seat of a great city.
 An inundation of the Euphrates, which demolished part of
 Babylon, and many distinguished privileges bestowed on
 Seleucia, hastened the aggrandizement of the new capital, at
 the expense of the old one⁸⁰.

Of Ptole-
 my.

From the detached situation of Egypt, surrounded by seas
 or a sandy ocean, Ptolemy had not the same opportunity with
 his rivals of making valuable contiguous conquests. He had
 indeed added to his dominions the remote Greek colonies in
 Cyrenè; but his great superiority consisted in the improve-
 ment of his domestic resources, by a policy alike active
 and liberal. His equal laws were faithfully and impartially
 administered. Industry was protected; letters protected and
 honoured; the commerce of the kingdom was greatly exten-
 ded by sea and land; and the munificent encouragement
 given in Egypt to every useful pursuit, attracted thither vast
 accessions of peaceful and industrious subjects from other
 parts of the empire. Ptolemy affected not the honour of dis-
 tinguishing a new capital by his name. He had a nobler pride
 in adorning Alexandria, the immortal monument of his
 divine brother. That city had now become the seat of arts,
 commerce, and letters; and had the prospect of long enjoying
 these advantages, since amidst the wars that desolated the
 great countries of Asia, Egypt, like a well guarded island,
 had for twenty years repelled hostility from its coasts; and
 the attempts to invade it by Perdiccas and Antigonus, had
 redounded to the ruin of the former, and the disgrace of the

⁸⁰ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 738. and Plin. l. vi. c. 26.

latter. A kingdom that had foiled in its own defence, CHAP. VII. the two greatest armies ever collected in the empire, was likely to cooperate with decisive effect against the public enemy.

It seldom happens that matters can be so secretly adjusted Lysimachus first takes the field against Antigonus. Olymp. exix. 3. B. C. 302. among various and distant allies, as entirely to escape the notice of those who are the objects of their hostility. Yet this concealment was attained by princes residing in Cassandria and Lysimachia in Europe, in Alexandria near the Nile, and in Seleucia on the Tigris. The vain confidence of Antigonus and his son lulled them into a fatal repose, while their enemies concerted measures for assailing them with united strength, and for carrying with all despatch the war into Upper Phrygia, the center of their dominions. Lysimachus was first in the field, eager to reap the fruits of twenty years' preparation. Demetrius, so little apprehended any danger from the side of Thrace, that, as the straits of Thermopylæ had been guarded by Cassander, he was preparing to invade Thessaly by sea, with a great fleet, part of which might easily have guarded the Hellespont and Propontis. Lysimachus thus passed into Asia without opposition. He was accompanied by Prepelaus, lieutenant to Cassander, commanding a considerable reinforcement. Those generals speedily made themselves masters of nearly the whole western coast of Lesser Asia. Most cities made a feeble resistance; several voluntarily surrendered; Abydus as well as Erythræ and Clazomene, which were distinguished by a successful defence, subjected their respective territories to the ravages of the enemy. Prepelaus, who took Ephesus, delivered the Rhodian hostages in its castle, and burnt a numerous fleet lying in its harbour. He then marched eastward to the royal city of Sardes, into which he gained admission through the treachery of Phœnix, its governor. The citadel, however, was obstinately defended by the more faithful Philip. Without waiting to besiege it, Prepelaus hastened to join Lysimachus, who, victorious on all sides, had advanced into Upper Phrygia, and fixed his head quarters at the central city of Synnada, which together

CHAP.
VII.

Campaign
in Lesser
Asia.
Olymp.
cxix. 3. B.
C. 302.

with its fortress, containing a rich treasury, had been betrayed to him by Docimus, another of Antigonus' treacherous generals⁸¹.

That king of Asia, as he affected to be called, still remained in his capital Antigonía, enjoying the conquests of Demetrius in Greece, and hoping speedily to hear news of equally brilliant success in his projected warfare against Thrace and Macedon. To celebrate his future triumphs, he had assembled on the banks of the Orontes a train of musicians and machinists; priests, poets, painters, and all the showy retinue of festive superstition. When he first received intimation of the designs formed against him, he spoke of his enemies in his usual strain of contempt, saying, he would dissipate them at pleasure, like a flock of birds. But the surrender of his cities, and the treachery of his lieutenants, roused him from his arrogant security, and forced him hastily to dismiss his artists and assemble his army⁸². By rapid marches he hastened into Phrygia, before Lysimachus had been joined by his distant confederates. That prince wisely determining to keep on the defensive until the arrival of Seleucus and Ptolemy, had fortified a camp at Synnada; but upon learning Antigonus' approach, and not perfectly satisfied in that neighbourhood as to the security of supplies, he secretly decamped, moved fifty miles northward to the frontier of Phrygia, and posted himself at Doryleum on the confluence of the Bathys and Thymbris, which flow into the Sangarius. In this fertile district, he anxiously waited his auxiliaries, after strengthening the natural defences of two rivers by a deep ditch and a triple rampart⁸³.

Lysimachus' bold march to Hieracæa.

Antigonus, who followed the enemy with all possible diligence, found on his arrival in the vicinity of Doryleum, the works of Lysimachus completed, and his entrenchments too strong to be forced. To keep alive the alacrity of his troops, he made, however, some slight attacks. Lysimachus, from a similar motive, sent forth detachments to retort them. In the

⁸¹ Diodor. l. xx. s. 107. ⁸² Diodor. l. xx. s. 108. ⁸³ Diodor. *ibid*.

skirmishes which thus happened, the king of Asia uniformly prevailed. Discouraged by this circumstance, and perceiving that his adversary by lines of circumvallation had greatly straitened his quarters, Lysimachus determined again to change his position. This measure, which the unwieldly encumbrances of modern war would have rendered altogether impracticable in the face of a superior enemy, the lightness and agility of ancient armies, enabled him happily to effect. The maritime city of Heraclæa, a colony of Megara, was distant little more than an hundred miles from Doryleum. It abounded in resources of every kind, having been wisely governed by its late master Dionysius, and still more ably by his widow, Amastris, a Persian princess of extraordinary fortune and more extraordinary endowments⁸⁴. She was the daughter of Oxathres, brother to the last Darius; and at the famous nuptial solemnity of Greeks and Persians, had been given in marriage by Alexander to his beloved Craterus. But this general having been induced by motives of policy to espouse Phila, the daughter of Antipater, yielded Amastris to Dionysius, tyrant, as he was called, of Heraclæa. Upon the death of Dionysius, Amastris contracted a third marriage with Lysimachus⁸⁵, to whom she brought as her dower the useful friendship of the Heraclæans, who owed to her the greatest obligations, and who, though like other Greek colonies in their neighbourhood, they acknowledged a loose kind of dependence on Antigonus, were now ready to receive and abet his mortal enemy. For reaching in safety these valuable allies, Lysimachus decamped in a dark and stormy night, crossed at known fords the rivers Bathys and Sangarius, scaled a branch of Bithynian Olympus, and descended from that lofty ridge into the hospitable Salonian plain; from which, but principally from Heraclæa, he was provided with every accommodation necessary for a great army⁸⁶.

CHAP.
VII.Amastris.
—Her history.

⁸⁴ Arrian and Memnon apud Photium. c. v. p. 709.

⁸⁵ Id. *ibid*.

⁸⁶ Diodor. l. xx. s. 109.

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VII.

Antigonus, when he perceived that his enemies had escaped from his hands, instead of pursuing them across the mountain, chose a parallel and easier line of march towards Heracleæ, along the Phrygian frontier. But heavy rains conspired with the clayey nature of the soil greatly to interrupt his progress. It was now winter; he was informed that both Seleucus and Ptolemy were in motion; instead of hastening to attack Lysimachus, he determined to wait the arrival of Demetrius; and yielded to the desire of his soldiers of going into quarters in Phrygia for the remainder of the season⁸⁷.

Demetrius
joins his
father in
Asia.
Olymp.
cxix. 3. B.
C. 302.

Before Demetrius received his father's message to attend him, he had invaded Thessaly, the only division of Greece still bridled by Macedonian garrisons. The conquest of Phera and Larissa had given to him the command of the whole province; and he now stood on the frontier of Macedon with an army above sixty thousand strong, and nearly double in number to that with which Cassander prepared to oppose him⁸⁸. At this great crisis of his fortune, Demetrius hesitated not a moment to obey his father's commands, how painful soever might be the duty. Merely to save appearances, he granted peace to Cassander, on condition that the Greeks should thenceforward enjoy undisturbed freedom⁸⁹. He then sailed for Ephesus; and having sent part of his fleet to guard the narrow seas, rescued the Asiatic coasts of the Hellespont and Ægean with more facility from the garrisons of Lysimachus than that prince had recently conquered and usurped them.

Cassander
sends Plei-
starchus to
reinforce
the confed-
erates.—
His ship-
wreck.

Cassander meanwhile determined to avail himself of the enemy's departure, to promote both his private interest and the general good of the confederacy. Instead of following Demetrius into Asia, he remained in Macedon with the greater part of his army, hoping thereby to recover his ascendancy in Greece. But his brother Pleistarchus, with twelve thousand foot and five hundred horse, was destined to rein-

⁸⁷ Diodor. *ibid.*

xx. s. 110.

⁸⁸ Plut. in Demet. and Diodor. l.⁸⁹ Diodor. l. xx. s. 3.

force Lysimachus in the neighbourhood of Heracleæ. On proceeding to the Thracian Bosphorus, Pleistarchus found that canal guarded by thirty stout galleys; and at the same time learned, that the Asiatic shore of Chalcedon was secured by strong posts powerfully defended. He resolved therefore to advance northward to Odessus, midway between the Bosphorus and the mouths of the Danube, situate on a bay of the Euxine, in a direct course about three hundred miles distant from the opposite bay of Heracleæ. At Odessus a sufficient number of vessels could not be procured for conveying the whole army at one embarkation. It sailed therefore in three successive divisions, of which the first reached Heracleæ in safety; the second was taken by Demetrius' guard-ships; the third conducted by Pleistarchus in person, was long tossed and finally overwhelmed by a tempest. Only thirty-three persons were saved in the admiral galley, a vessel of six banks of oars, with a complement of five hundred men. Pleistarchus was in that number, being carried to the shore of Heracleæ, while he clung to a plank of the wreck⁹⁰. About the same time that this disaster happened, several thousands of Lysimachus' soldiers, disgusted with the parsimony or poverty of their master, deserted to the more lucrative service of Antigonus; whose coffers were still amply stored, though his treasures had been liberally distributed. After paying his army three months in advance, he had recently drawn to the value of six hundred thousand pounds sterling from the Cilician fortress Kuinda⁹¹.

To balance these misfortunes to the confederates, Seleucus had accomplished his long and toilsome march from Upper Asia, and encamped in Cappadocia with an army breathing valour, and bearing the well-earned trophies of the East. After the example of Assyrian and Persian kings, he might have carried with him a far more numerous host. But Seleucus disdained this empty ostentation, well knowing that the enemy with whom he had to contend, was not to be ter-

CHAP.
VII.

Seleucus
marches to
Lesser
Asia to
join Lysi-
machus.

⁹⁰ Diodor. l. xx. s. 111, 112.

⁹¹ Diodor. l. xx. s. 108.

CHAP. VII. rified by unwieldy magnitude. His force consisted of ninety thousand chosen infantry; twelve thousand horse; an hundred armed chariots, together with four hundred and eighty elephants; the magnificent and useful present of his father-in-law Sandrocottus ⁹².

Ptolemy
stands
aloof.—His
views.

The army of Ptolemy alone was now wanting. But this crafty and selfish prince never reinforced his confederates. Upon Antigonus' departure from Syria, he had indeed invaded that province, and laboured to recover those possessions in Coele-Syria and Phœnicia, which for reasons above explained, he regarded as essential appendages to his Egyptian kingdom. While employed in the tedious siege of Sidon, a report reached his camp ⁹³ that Antigonus had obtained a great and decisive victory over Lysimachus, and was marching with all haste to encounter and chastise the rash invaders of Syria, the seat of his capital, and rich kernel of his empire. In consequence of this rumour, Ptolemy raised the siege of Sidon, and precipitately abandoned his conquests in Syria, glad, perhaps, of a pretext for maintaining his own strength secure and unbroken behind the marshes of the Nile, while his rivals were about to shock in a desperate conflict, that was likely to destroy the vanquished, and deeply to wound the conqueror.

Battle of
Ipsus in
Phrygia.
Olymp.
cxix. 4. B.
C. 301.

Without fruitlessly waiting the arrival of Ptolemy, Seleucus and Lysimachus, who had joined forces in Phrygia, prepared for a general engagement. Their infantry amounting to sixty-four thousand men, fell little short of that of the enemy, now assembled under Antigonus and his son in the same province. The cavalry on either side exceeded twelve thousand. Antigonus, however, had only seventy-five elephants. From the long delay in coming to action, it should seem that both parties firmly relied on the success of a battle fought with the whole troops which they could respectively collect. Antigonus, indeed, long boasted that he would drive the enemy from his provinces, as easily as he could dissipate a flock of

⁹² Conf. Diodor. l. xx. cap. ult. c. 4.
Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. Justin. l. xv. ⁹³ Diodor. *ibid*.

hungry birds preying on his fields. But as the hostile armies approached each other, near the center of the peninsula, and came mutually in sight in the extensive plain of Ipsus, bordered on the south by the lake of Antiochia, and on the north by the mountains of Synnada, Antigonus passed from the extreme of martial confidence to that of cowardly superstition. The aged general, now in his eighty-first⁹⁴ year, had attained his preeminence by resolution and energy. Though a stern commander and rigid master, he was accustomed in the hottest battle to relax his austerity, to array his countenance in smiles, and to encourage his troops by lively familiar sallies, and even loud laughter. But at the near prospect of the bloody decision which he had provoked, Antigonus began to tremble on the giddy height to which his ambition had ascended. On the important day, the tall and unwieldy old man unfortunately tripped as he issued from his pavilion, and fell prostrate on the ground. This inauspicious event heightened his uncertainty and confusion. He, who hitherto confided solely in his own judgment, long deliberated with Demetrius about his order of battle. He even showed him to the troops as his successor, and prayed only for himself, that he might at least fall in the arms of victory. The combat began, as usual, with the cavalry, which prepared on either side to clear every obstruction to the united impulse of the phalanx. Demetrius bravely repelled the hostile squadrons commanded by young Antiochus, son and successor to Seleucus. But his eagerness in the pursuit carried him beyond due bounds⁹⁵, and afforded an opportunity to Seleucus by interposing a line of elephants to intercept his return, and thereby to prevent that cooperation between the infantry and horse, from which, as before explained, the specific excellence of the Macedonian tactics resulted. Antigonus' phalanx being thus left unguarded in flank, was threatened by an attack in that quarter, which generally proved decisive. The mere apprehension of

⁹⁴ Appian *Syriac.* c. 55. and Lucian in *Macroh.* ⁹⁵ Plutarch in *Demet.*

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VII.

this consequence, made a great part of the infantry come over to the enemy. The remainder being outflanked, afforded an easy victory: the nearer part of their deep line was encompassed, compressed, and cut in pieces: the more remote was disordered and put to flight⁹⁶. When the tumult of battle approached the person of Antigonus, who still anxiously expected aid from his son, that unhappy old man was deserted by those around him, and overwhelmed by a shower of javelins. Thorax of Larissa alone remained in the field, and was found guarding the dead body of the king. Demetrius returned from his ill-judged pursuit only to learn the death of his father, and to behold the dreadful extent of their common calamity. In this deplorable state of his affairs he hastened to join the fugitives. By a precipitate retreat of two hundred miles, he escaped to Ephesus, and there regained the protection of his fleet, with only four thousand horse and five thousand infantry⁹⁷. Such was the decisive battle of Ipsus, which destroyed the hopes and the life of Antigonus, the second of Alexander's captains who had aspired to universal empire.

⁹⁶ Plutarch in Demet. Of this battle, though fully related by contemporary authors, no particular description has come down to us. There is a blank in the text of Dio-

dorus, who had transcribed from Jerom of Cardia the less memorable battles of Antigonus.

⁹⁷ Id. *ibid.* et Appian Syriac. c. 55.

CHAPTER VIII.

New Partition of the Empire. Flight of Demetrius to Greece. His transactions there and in Thrace. Marries his Daughter to Seleucus. Surprises the Strong-holds in Cilicia. Sends Pyrrhus as Hostage into Egypt. History of Cassander and his Sons. Demetrius King of Macedon. Lysimachus' War beyond the Danube. Demetrius' second Greatness. His City Demetrias. His capricious Government. Macedon wrested from him by Lysimachus. His expedition into Lesser Asia. Captivity, Death, and Character. Polygamy, its Effects on the Affairs of Alexander's Successors. Ptolemy, his Wives and Sons. His younger Son raised by him to the Throne. Tragedy in the Family of Lysimachus. Which involves him in War with Seleucus. Motives and Views of the latter Prince. Story of his Son Antiochus and Wife Stratonice. Lysimachus slain in the Battle of Corupedion. His Character. New Cities. Fond hopes of Seleucus. Is assassinated by Ptolemy Keraunus. Motives of the Assassin. Seleucus' Character. His new Cities. Ptolemy Soter. His wise Administration. Prosperous State of Egypt. Letters, Sciences, and Arts. Coronation Festival of his Son.

OF the four confederates against Antigonus and his son, Seleucus only and Lysimachus fought in the decisive battle of Ipsus: Cassander, though not actually present, reinforced their arms with a considerable body of troops under his brother Pleistarchus; Ptolemy neither appeared in person, nor sent any auxiliaries. He recovered, however, the quiet possession of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, appendages essential to his kingdom. Seleucus gained the rest of Syria, and was confirmed in his extensive dominion between the Euphrates and the Indus¹. Lysimachus acquired Lesser Asia, from the Ægean sea to those lofty branches of Taurus, which overhang the plains of Cappadocia, and which on the other side

CHAP.
VIII.

Partition of
Antigonus'
territories.
Olymp.
cxix. A. B.
C. 301.

¹ Appian Syriac. c. 55. Polyb. Excerpt. e Legat. s. 82. and Plutarch in Demet.

CHAP. VIII. repel the Euphrates from the Mediterranean. This mountainous tract, called afterwards Seleucian Cappadocia, bounded Lysimachus' possessions eastward. His jurisdiction, therefore, comprehended the ancient kingdom of Cræsus; in other words, nearly the whole of the Asiatic peninsula. Cassander obtained nothing in Asia for himself; but his brother Pleistarchus was invested with the valuable province of Cilicia².

The harbour of Athens shut against Demetrius.

While the confederates were employed in adjusting their claims, and taking possession of their conquests, Demetrius, who, as we have already seen, had hastily embarked at Ephesus, prepared to remedy, as far as possible, the melancholy consequences of defeat. He had reason to hope that his strong garrisons in Tyre and Sidon would still defend these cities, although Phœnicia and all Syria lay at the mercy of his enemies. He was master of the isle of Cyprus. His troops retained hold of Megara, Corinth, and Sicyon. His fleet was far the mightiest in the empire; and for retrieving his affairs, he relied on the cordial assistance of many Greek cities, especially of his beloved Athens, the object of his unbounded kindness, which that republic had hitherto repaid by more boundless adulation. Towards Athens, which worshipped him as her tutelary god, he immediately proceeded, and was steering his course through the Cyclades, when a vessel, conveying ambassadors from that state, met him at sea, and acquainted him, that the Athenians had just passed a decree, forbidding any of the kings to be admitted within their walls. In conformity with this resolution, they informed him that his spouse Deidamia had been escorted with all due respect from Athens to Megara³.

He lands at Corinth.

Demetrius received the news, like a man who knew that the blackest ingratitude might naturally be expected in adversity, from a people who had been the vilest flatterers of his power. He only required them to send round to Corinth

² Plutarch, *ibid.* ³ *Id.*

the ships belonging to him in their harbours; and, at the same time, directed his course for that city. Upon his arrival there, he found that during his unfortunate expedition into Asia, Cassander had been successfully employed in recovering his ascendancy in both divisions of Greece; that Thessaly and Bœotia had again submitted to his arms; and that several strong-holds of Peloponnesus were already bridled with his garrisons. As nothing of moment therefore could be hastily effected in this quarter, Demetrius availed himself of the superiority of his fleet, and the continuance of Lysimachus in Asia, to make extensive and ruinous depredations on the coast of Thrace. From the Hellespont to the eastern extremity of mount Hæmus, the maritime parts of that country were plundered or desolated. In this manner he at once enriched his soldiers, and retaliated the injuries of his worst enemy⁴.

CHAP.
VIII.

Makes a
predatory
expedition
against
Thrace.

Meanwhile, Seleucus and Lysimachus gradually lost that cordiality as neighbours, which they had long maintained as allies. The vast dominions of the former, in many parts very feebly guarded, might prove a dangerous temptation to the latter, who had carried with him to the East almost the whole strength of Thrace, and who, by his dominion in the Asiatic peninsula, containing such a strong mixture of European blood, might successfully invade the more effeminate provinces of Upper Asia. The natural jealousy between these ambitious princes, was heightened by the family alliances which Lysimachus contracted with the king of Egypt. Agathocles, heir to his dominions, had married Lysandra, the daughter of Ptolemy by Euridice: Lysimachus, after separating from Amastris, the mother of Agathocles, now solicited and obtained for himself Arsinoë, Ptolemy's daughter by his second wife Berenice, a woman all powerful with her husband. To counterbalance⁵ this close affinity between his rivals, Seleucus turned his eyes to Demetrius, who had recently shown himself still qualified to become an useful auxiliary. Though himself advanced in years, and happy in

Lysima-
chus mar-
ries Pto-
lemy's
daughter.

Which
makes Se-
leucus seek
a marriage
in the fami-
ly of De-
metrius

⁴ Diodorus and Plutarch.

⁵ Plutarch, *ibid*.

CHAP. the virtues of his son Antiochus⁶, Seleucus desired in marriage Stratonice, daughter to Demetrius by Philla, herself the favourite daughter of Antipater. In accomplishments Stratonice imitated her mother, of whom we have before spoken, and still surpassed her in beauty ⁷.

Demetrius sails with his daughter Stratonice to Syria. Olymp. cxx. 2. B. C. 299.

Demetrius greedily embraced an alliance, which afforded him a near prospect of repairing his fortune. His affairs in Greece were intrusted to young Pyrrhus, the expatriated king of Epirus, his companion in arms at the unfortunate battle of Ipsus. Having collected a powerful armament, he embarked with Stratonice, and sailed for the coast of Syria, where Seleucus had already built Antioch, on the Orontes, from the ruins of demolished Antigonía. Seleucia however had not yet risen near the mouth of that river, so that Demetrius landed at the more ancient port of Rossus; a place thenceforward unnoticed in history, because Seleucia, the harbour as it were of Antioch, was destined speedily to drain Rossus of its inhabitants, and to reduce it to obscurity. In his way to Rossus with his affianced daughter, Demetrius displayed his characteristic eccentricity. Having made a sudden descent on the coast of Cilicia, he plundered the treasury of Kuinda of twelve hundred talents. Leaving Pleistarchus to prefer unavailing complaints to his allies, he hastily embarked, reached Syria in safety, presented Stratonice to her admirer; and having celebrated with him three days the nuptial festivity, returned unexpectedly to Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province. Pleistarchus, believing his neighbour Seleucus to be privy to this enterprise, fled in trepidation to Cassander in Macedon ⁸.

Surprises Cilicia and wrests it from Pleistarchus.

Seleucus' jealousy of Demetrius.

For a short time indeed the appearance of confidential friendship subsisted between the king of Syria and Demetrius. Through the interference of Seleucus, Demetrius obtained a reconciliation with Ptolemy, and even betrothed the Egyptian princess Ptolemais, (Ptolemy's daughter by Euridice), though their marriage was not celebrated till

⁶ Born to him by the Parthian Apama. Strabo, l. xii. p. 578. and Appian Syriac.

⁷ Appian and Plutarch, *ibid*.

⁸ *Id. ibid*.

many years afterwards. But the enterprising spirit of his young father-in-law at length awakened in Seleucus the most uneasy suspicions. The maritime province of Cilicia, with the seaports of Tyre and Sidon, were dangerous possessions in the hands of so active a prince, still master of Cyprus and many cities in Greece; of a considerable land force, and of the greatest fleet in the empire. Seleucus offered to purchase from him Cilicia, for a vast sum of money. Demetrius indignantly rejected this proposal; and not only strengthened the defences of that province, but to defeat the grasping disposition of his son-in-law, powerfully reinforced his garrisons in Tyre and Sidon. About the same time, Ptolemy, who began to feel alarm for the safety of his coasts and the security of his trade, required hostages from his new ally for the maintenance of the amity recently contracted between them, and of which Ptolemais was to be the future bond. Demetrius consented to this condition, not unusual in such engagements. Having settled his affairs in the East, he returned to his possessions in Greece; received his garrisons in good order from Pyrrhus; and sent that young prince whom he then greatly valued, as his hostage into Egypt; an occurrence, which, by affording to the yet obscure Epirot an opportunity of recommending himself to the friendship of Ptolemy, reinstated him in his hereditary kingdom, and eventually enabled him to embark in those vast projects from which his name derives so much lustre. The pride of Demetrius concurred with his interest, in carrying him a third time towards Athens, then governed by Lachares a creature of Cassander; and the cruel oppressor of his fellow citizens⁹. The city made an obstinate resistance, the Athenians having passed a decree denouncing death against any who should talk of submission to an invader, whom their former ingratitude, they believed, must have exasperated to the utmost pitch of vengeance. The great superiority of his armament, enabled Demetrius

⁹ Pausanias, Attic. c. 25 et 29.

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to block up Athens by sea and land. But a sudden storm which shattered or sunk many of his ships, and the arrival of an hundred and fifty sail carrying supplies from Egypt, long retarded his success. At length he collected double that number of galleys from Cyprus, Cilicia, and Peloponnesus; drove the unequal fleet of Ptolemy, now his open enemy, from the Athenian coast; and intercepted so completely all kinds of supplies from the besieged city during many months, that its defenders were compelled to submission, through the combined pressure of sedition and famine. Demetrius summoned the citizens to the market place. Lachares, his most obnoxious adversary had escaped in disguise; but the partisans of the Macedonian interest, and the whole body of the Athenian people had reason to apprehend that they were to pay dearly for their past offences, when they perceived that their unarmed multitude, was surrounded on all sides by Demetrius' soldiers. But this terror was the only punishment he inflicted. Having gently chid them for their former ingratitude, he relieved their wants by a present of an hundred thousand measures of wheat: placed all offices of magistracy in the hands of persons most acceptable to the people at large; and left the Athenians in astonishment at his lenity and bounty, although he secured by firm garrisons the future fidelity of their commonwealth ¹⁰.

His war
against
Sparta.

The possession of Sparta, which for thirty years had enjoyed an inglorious peace, seemed chiefly wanting to secure Demetrius in his dominion of Peloponnesus. The war was undertaken; the Spartan king Archidamus, an hereditary name, was defeated in two engagements; and the feeble walls which Sparta, no longer confiding solely in the spears of her citizens, had recently erected ¹¹, could not long have resisted the arms of Poliorcetes. But news of a various and most important nature saved the degenerated Lacedæmonians from the uplifted stroke just ready to fall on them.

¹⁰ Plutarch in Demet.

¹¹ Pausanias, l. i. c. 13.

Demetrius learned that his lieutenants in Cyprus had been defeated by Ptolemy; and that Lysimachus had attacked his garrisons in Cilicia. To compensate for the mortification of this intelligence, his presence was requested in Macedon¹², in consequence of tragical misfortunes in the family of Cassander, long his inveterate enemy.

Cassander, having governed Macedon nineteen years¹³, died of a dropsy¹⁴, three years after his authority had been placed on a secure footing by the battle of Ipsus. His eldest son Philip, who succeeded him, soon followed his father to the grave. The throne was disputed between the two brothers of Philip, Antigonus and Alexander, whose common mother Thessalonica, espousing the weaker cause, was murdered by Antigonus with shocking circumstances of cruelty. The spectacle of a son denying life to a mother's supplications by the breast which had nourished him, melted even the obdurate hearts of the Macedonians. Abetted by the public resentment and the assistance of Pyrrhus, no longer a hostage in Egypt, but restored by the money and troops of Ptolemy to his petty kingdom of Epirus, Alexander was enabled to defeat and expel his parricidal brother, who having to wife the daughter of Lysimachus, fled to that prince for protection. Alexander dreading vengeance from the sanguinary Antigonus armed with the formidable power of his father-in-law, craved succour from Demetrius, who hastened through the whole length of Greece from Sparta to Dium; but before he reached this frontier town of Macedon, the circumstances were changed which had occasioned his invitation thither. Alexander had learned, that Lysimachus was involved in a dangerous war with the Getæ beyond the Danube, and altogether unable to give assistance to his unworthy suppliant. Besides this, Alexander had paid so dearly to Pyrrhus for his aid, especially by being obliged to cede to him the provinces of Ambracia and Acarnania, contiguous to Epirus, that he was thoroughly disgusted with all foreign auxiliaries.

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Is with-
drawn
from it by
tempting
prospects
in Mace-
don.
Olymp.
cxi. 2. B.
C. 295.

¹² Plutarch in Demet.

57.

¹³ Dexipp. in Chronic. Euseb. p.

¹⁴ Pausanias, l. ix. c. 7.

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He catches
the king of
Macedon
in his own
snare.

He therefore proceeded to meet Demetrius at Dium, with every demonstration of gratitude and affection, but at the same time acquainted him, that he was happily relieved from the necessity of having recourse to his assistance. Demetrius, who was probably actuated by very unwarrantable motives in his expedition to Macedon, clearly perceived by this proceeding that his designs were defeated. But he had not less reason to be suspicious in his turn; since Alexander perceiving that he delayed to take his departure, had concerted measures for assassinating him during a public entertainment, at which he had engaged him to be his guest. This perfidious design was discovered; and its execution prevented by Demetrius' precaution in coming to his appointment so well accompanied, that the traitor had not an opportunity to effectuate his purpose. Demetrius disguised his resentment; and to catch the adversary in his own snare, finally took his leave with many professions of friendship. Alexander through pretended respect, escorted him with an army to Larissa in Thessaly: to conceal his own designs, he betrayed no distrust of Demetrius, but accepted with a slight attendance the hospitality of that prince. In the midst of the entertainment, Demetrius rose from table, and being followed by Alexander, said only to his guard at the door, "kill him who follows me." Alexander was instantly despatched together with those of his attendants who interposed in his defence. One of them regretted with his last words, that Demetrius had anticipated similar treachery on their part by a single day¹⁵.

Circum-
stances
favourable
to Deme-
trius in
Macedon.

The descendents of Alexander had perished. Thessalonica was the last survivor among the children of Philip. The destruction of the sons of Thessalonica removed all the male heirs, save the abominable Antigonus¹⁶, of the virtuous and

¹⁵ Conf. Plutarch in Demet. and in Pyrrho.

¹⁶ This is the name given to the parricide by Dexippus and Eusebius Pausanias and others call him Antipater. I prefer the name of Antigonus, because it serves to explain

a difficulty in Laertius' life of Demetrius Phalereus; namely, that "he fled to Egypt after the death of Cassander, for fear of Antigonus." The Antigonus here meant is plainly the bloodthirsty son of Cassander.

able Antipater, himself a faithful minister, but whose family basely supplanted that of his master. Demetrius, who had completed this catastrophe was himself a *Temenide*, deducing his descent from the revered founder of the Macedonian monarch. He had long been the husband of Phylla, the accomplished daughter of Antipater, whose premature judgment that sagacious statesman disdained not to consult on the weightiest affairs; whose condescending popularity rendered her the idol of the Macedonians; and who had given to Demetrius a son named Antigonus of the most promising hopes, uniting his mother's discretion and good sense, with the activity and enterprise of his father. To these recommendations, Demetrius added the command of a great army. The Macedonians after the murder of their king, feared that his destroyer would attack their camp. But Demetrius hastened to address them in the most friendly terms, to justify his act of vengeance by evidence as well as arguments, and to offer himself for their king and general. No competitor remained to dispute with him that dignity, except the abhorred Antigonus¹⁷. This execrable parricide was now a fugitive in Thrace, where being disappointed of the assistance which he solicited from Lysimachus, he speedily formed the resolution of assassinating that prince: but his conspiracy was brought to light, and he was consigned to just punishment.

The speech of Demetrius was received with acclamations by the Macedonians at Larissa; who, instead of an enemy justly dreaded by them, gladly accepted a master whom they had many reasons to approve. He was conducted to Pella in triumph, and acknowledged by the great body of a nation, who had long known no other will than that of the soldiery. A circumstance which greatly added to the satisfaction of all orders of men, was the arrival of Phylla from Greece. She had been made captive by Ptolemy in his conquest of Cyprus:

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Acknowledged king, and joined at Pella by his wife Phylla. Olymp. cxxi. 3. B. C. 294.

¹⁷ Pausanias, l. ix. c. 7

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and with the generosity which amidst their mutual warfare this prince and Demetrius always showed towards each other, had been treated with the utmost respect, and sent with many presents and an honourable escort to Corinth, from whence she now proceeded to her husband¹⁸.

He enslaves
Thebes and
prepares to
invade
Thrace.

The easy acquisition of a crown could not satisfy the restless ambition of Demetrius. Pyrrhus was instantly expelled from his usurpations in the Macedonian territory: and an expedition was undertaken against Thebes; a city which, owing the greatest obligations to Cassander, its restorer from ruin or obscurity, too boldly opposed the arms of Demetrius. Thebes as well as the smaller cities in Bœotia, which had adopted her resentment, were reduced to unconditional submission; and the historian Jerom of Cardia, who, since the death of his friend Eumenes, had followed the fortunes of his conqueror, was set over them as governor. This expedition was scarcely terminated, when news reached Demetrius, that Lysimachus, the neighbour whom he most dreaded, had been made captive in his war with the Getæ beyond the Danube. Such an opportunity of taking vengeance on the most inveterate enemy of his father and himself, could not be neglected. The king of Macedon hastened homeward, that he might conduct his army into Thrace. But before he entered the latter country, his progress was arrested by new and very extraordinary intelligence.

Lysima-
chus made
prisoner,
but gene-
rously re-
leased by
Dromicha-
tes king of
the Getæ
or Goths.

Lysimachus, indeed, as well as his brave son Agathocles, had been made prisoners by the Getæ, but both of them had been released by those Barbarians, now become their allies. The following circumstances of this transaction have been deemed worthy of record. Lysimachus had crossed the Danube, defeated the Getæ, or Goths¹⁹, and stripped them of a large tract of territory. But his insatiable rapacity had

¹⁸ Plutarch in Demet.

passim. and Plin. l. vi. c. 12.

¹⁹ Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. iv.

been caught in a snare, laid for him by the crafty Nomades. One of their chiefs, pretending to be a deserter, had taken refuge in his camp; and under colour of conducting him to more important conquests, had decoyed a numerous army into those frightful deserts of western Scythia, where Darius Hystaspis narrowly escaped death through fatigue and hunger²⁰. Under these unhappy circumstances, and nearly destitute of water, Lysimachus was compelled to surrender to Dromichaetes king of the Getæ²¹. The Barbarians, with dreadful yells, demanded the blood of their prisoners; but their more prudent sovereign, with the moderation worthy of Krim Gueray²², who, in our own times, reigned mildly over part of the same country, restrained their brutal fury. Thrace, he told them, would devolve to another king, who could not fail to revenge the death of Lysimachus. But this prince, by generous treatment, might be converted into a peaceful neighbour and even a valuable ally. He therefore released his captives and invited them to an entertainment, in which they were treated after the Macedonian fashion with well prepared viands served on plates of silver²³, while the wine went round in golden goblets. He then conducted them to the tents of the Getæ, who were feeding on the coarsest fare from wooden trenchers, and drinking their vile beverage from horns. In showing this contrast, Dromichaetes insinuated the wisdom of keeping peace with a people, whose mode of life presented so many dissuasives to war. Having filled a large horn with pure wine, he addressed Lysimachus with the honoured name of father, and drank to their eternal amity²⁴. Their friendship was afterwards cemented by the marriage of Lysimachus's daughter with the king of the Getæ.

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Lysima-
chus enter-
tained by
the Goths
with whom
he makes
an alliance.

²⁰ Herodot. l. iv. c. 85. & seq.

²¹ Conf. Diodor. Excerpt. p. 560.
and Strabo, l. vii. p. 463.

²² Baron Tott's Travels.

²³ Diodorus says, a table of silver. Diodor. Excerpt de Virtut. et Vit. ex Lib. xxi. p. 560.

²⁴ Id. ibid.

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Demetrius
second
greatness.
Olymp.
cxxxii. 1. B
C. 292.
Olymp.
cxxxiii. 1. B.
C. 288.

The sudden return of the royal captives to Thrace, frustrated Demetrius' purpose of invading that country. But his absence in the north, which was expected to have been of much longer continuance, afforded the opportunity to his warlike neighbour, Pyrrhus, for making an inroad into Thessaly; and encouraged the Bœotians to rebel against their governor Jerom. Both these enemies were discomfited with little difficulty; the former, by Demetrius in person; the latter, by his son Antigonus. As Thebes still remained hostile, Demetrius, after driving Pyrrhus from Thessaly, returned to besiege that city, took it by assault, and bridled it with a strong garrison. The king of Macedon was now attaining to a second greatness; a sort of after-spring to his former towering and splendid prosperity. About this time, to immortalize his name, he built Demetrias in Thessaly, on the inmost recess of the Pelasgic gulph: he also betrothed the daughter of Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse; whose transactions, the connecting bond between the history of the East and West, will be related in a subsequent part of this work. Throughout his whole reign, the great object of Demetrius was to augment his fleets and armies, purposing to apply them efficaciously towards recovering in its full extent the dominion held by his father. As the Ætolians and Pyrrhus were likely to create him much disturbance at home during his distant expedition, he greatly reduced those dangerous neighbours, ravaging Ætolia, which had so often poured forth ravagers on the provinces around it, and inflicting on Epirus those evils which Pyrrhus was destined signally to avenge.

His fleets
and armies.

Demetrius' genius for ship-building, of which we have before spoken, was exercised with unremitting diligence in the harbours of Pella, Athens, Corinth, and the islands of Eubœa and Corcyra; the latter of which he received as the dower of Agathocles's daughter. Towards the end of his seven years' reign in Macedon, his ships of war amounted to five hundred, among which were many galleys of fifteen and sixteen banks of oars, which, notwithstanding their bulkiness, were

as manageable and nimble as those of an ordinary size²⁵. His land forces amounted to an hundred and ten thousand, of which twelve thousand were cavalry. With such an army, and the greatest fleet in the world, it is not wonderful that this restless child of ambition should entertain the loftiest designs; but he unfortunately revealed them, before his ships were perfectly equipped, or his soldiers ready to march.

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In an age of the world when it was still customary to represent by external emblems, the hopes and fears of the mind and each variation of fortune, his robe of royalty was embroidered with the kingdoms of the earth and the stars of heaven. His head was encompassed by the novelty of a double diadem, surpassing in magnificence that formerly worn by the paramount kings of the East²⁶; and while the arrogance of his pretensions and measures excited against him a confederacy of foreign enemies, the madness of his domestic government enraged his subjects both in Greece and Macedon, yet unfashioned to oriental despotism. On one occasion the ambassadors of Athens, for that state still preserved the semblance of liberty, were allowed to wait two years without an audience. On another, while Demetrius made a progress through the streets of Pella, he received more graciously than usual the numerous petitions that were presented to him. But he had no sooner reached the bridge over the Axios, than unfolding his purple mantle, he consigned the papers to the wind²⁷. In addition to such frantic insults, it is unnecessary to mention lesser causes of offence, among which may be reckoned his numerous marriages²⁸, in contempt of the institutions of Greece and of his affectionate Phylla, whose virtues were adored by the Macedonians.

His vanity
and tyranny.

²⁵ Plutarch in Demet.

of the Greek dynasty.

²⁶ Entitled the *Great King*, and king of kings; appellations, as will appear hereafter, preposterously assumed by many degenerate princes

²⁷ Plutarch in Demet.

²⁸ Plutarch in Demet. and in Pyrrho, they will be enumerated hereafter.

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Macedon
conquered
by Pyrrhus
and Lysi-
machus.
Olymp.
cxxxiii. 2. B.
C. 288.

The overweening confidence of Demetrius, which openly exhibited its extravagance in all the wildest freaks of tyranny, was equalled only by the secrecy and celerity of his antagonists. The kings of Thrace and Egypt prepared to overthrow an insolent and dangerous domination, which alarmed the independence of neighbours, and trampled on the feelings of subjects. Ptolemy, who was all powerful with Pyrrhus, engaged that prince in a zealous cooperation with their views. While Demetrius was yet preparing his galleys, and anticipating the scenes of his future glory, Ptolemy approached Greece with his fleet. Lysimachus entered Macedon on the side of Thrace; Pyrrhus, on that of Epirus. The king of Macedon flew to the defence of his northern frontier against his most inveterate enemy. But learning that Pyrrhus had advanced to Beræa, within twenty miles of Pella, he hastily changed his direction to repel that invader. The Macedonians, whom he suspected of unwillingness to follow him, would be less liable, he thought, to disaffection and desertion in acting against Pyrrhus, a foreigner whom they had often defeated, than against their own countryman Lysimachus, who had often led them to victory. But their disgust at capricious tyranny made them eager to change Demetrius for any master; and Pyrrhus, besides that he was cousin-german to the great Alexander, had even amidst his defeats, displayed much military skill and romantic heroism. Though hitherto unsuccessful against Demetrius in person, he had on one great occasion vanquished his general in Thessaly, and made five thousand prisoners; whom, by his generous treatment of them, he had converted into admiring friends. Demetrius' army no sooner approached the enemy, than it broke out into open mutiny; while the greatness of the desertion announced a total and immediate revolt. The unworthy king, who now reaped the bitter fruits of his past folly, narrowly escaped public vengeance, by flying in disguise to

Flight of
Demetrius
and death
of Phila.

Cassandria, from which Macedonian city he escaped under a new disguise into Greece. His wife Phylla, weary of longer participating in his inconstancy of fortune, drank poison. Lysimachus and Pyrrhus divided Macedon between them.

Leaving his son Antigonus to defend Greece, and not waiting to chastise the new ingratitude of Athens, Demetrius, whose innate activity never allowed him under the worst circumstances to despair, put himself at the head of twelve thousand chosen infantry and a considerable body of horse. With these troops he hastily embarked for the coast of Lesser Asia, hoping, while Lysimachus was busy with his new arrangements in Macedon, to surprise his more valuable possessions in that peninsula. In that age, wars were not carried on with Germanic slowness. Those who cannot move without carriages and magazines will commonly be defeated by generals of a more active school. The enterprise of Demetrius was eminently successful. Caria, Ionia, all Lydia, with its capital Sardes, readily submitted to his arms. He was carried forward on the flattering tide of fortune, and on the point of compensating in the East for his losses in the West, when Agathocles, the accomplished son of Lysimachus, crossed over into Asia and ended his prosperity. By movements equally rapid with those of his adversary, the Thracian prince cut off Demetrius from his resources, and drove him into the irretrievable error of quitting the communication with his fleet. Demetrius led his reluctant army through the windings of Taurus, while the Greeks remonstrated against the severe sufferings to which they were daily exposed; yet failed not amidst their repinings, gaily to apostrophize their general in the parodied lines of Sophocles, "Son of blind Antigonus²⁹, into what frightful regions hast thou brought us?" Their complaints became so outrageous, that Demetrius would have been compelled, however unwillingly, to return towards the coast. But Agathocles had occupied the passes in those mountains formerly mentioned,

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Demetrius
conducts an
army of
Greeks
into Lesser
Asia.
Olymp.
exxiii. 2. B.
C. 287.

Reduced to
difficulties
by Agatho-
cles, has
recourse to
Seleucus.

²⁹ Antigonus was nick-named Cyclops, as we have seen above.

CHAP. which overhang Cappadocia, and which separated the domi-
 VIII. nions of Seleucus and Lysimachus. The former of these
 princes thought it necessary to guard in person the frontier
 of Syria. Under such circumstances, Demetrius wrote a let-
 ter of supplication to his son-in-law, who, at the instance, it is
 said, of his courtiers, refused him all farther indulgence than
 that of passing two winter months in Seleucian Cappadocia³⁰.

Seleucus
 compels
 him to
 surrender.

Enraged at this treatment, Demetrius attacked several of
 the advanced posts of Seleucus, and was on the point of sur-
 prising the royal encampment in the night; when a merce-
 nary deserter betrayed his design. Seleucus, now in his se-
 venty-fifth year, determined to rid himself of this dangerous
 visitant in a manner characteristic of Alexander's generals.
 The next day he hastened with few attendants to Demetrius'
 tents; and when he came in sight of the soldiers, taking the
 helmet from his head³¹ that he might be clearly recognised
 by them, remonstrated against their folly in adhering to a
 rash adventurer in opposition to their old and affectionate
 friend, who for their sakes only had delayed to employ against
 them his resistless arms. Demetrius, forsaken by most of
 his troops, wandered several days weakly attended in the
 woods of Cilicia, hoping to force his way to the Grecian sea.
 But as he found the neighbouring passes of Taurus well
 guarded by the enemy, he came to the resolution of deli-
 vering himself to his son-in-law, notwithstanding the auda-
 city with which he had so recently provoked him.

Captivity of
 Demetrius.
 Olymp.
 cxxiii. 2. B.
 C. 237.

Seleucus sent him to the Syrian Chersonesus, a projecture
 of land sixty miles south of Antioch, and directly opposite to
 the isle of Cyprus; once the pride of Demetrius, being the
 prize of his great naval victory. Antigonus, when he learned
 his captivity, with the filial affection that characterized many

³⁰ That part of the country *simachus*.
 which belonged to Seleucus: the ³¹ Polyænus, l. iv. c. 9. and Plu-
 larger division was subject to Ly- tarch in Demet.

successive princes of their family, offered himself and all his possessions to recover his father's freedom. Seleucus denied his request, but also rejected with scorn the bribe of two thousand talents from Lysimachus to purchase his prisoner's death³². Demetrius was kept in easy confinement, being allowed the exercise of hunting, and all other amusements, within the precincts of his well-guarded peninsula, which from the geography of its mountains, bays, and rivers, was distinguished by names derived from the Macedonian district of Pella³³. But the want of liberty, and perhaps the sight of Cyprus so agonizing to his ambition, gradually blunted the relish for manly pleasures. He gave himself up to intemperance and sloth, writing to his son Antigonus to make no more intercessions in his favour, to consider him thenceforward as dead, to refuse credit to any letters which his enemies might forge in his name, and to defend with vigilance and spirit the Greek cities yet acknowledging his authority. Antigonus, by complying with this advice, was enabled, nine years after his father's death, to recover his abdicated kingdom of Macedon. Demetrius died in the third year of his captivity, and fifty-fourth of his age. The above mentioned letter to Antigonus is the last recorded transaction of a man, who was once at the head of the greatest force ever commanded by any of Alexander's successors, and whose variety of fortune is only surpassed by the inconstancy of his conduct; his prosperity being never more lofty than his acts of virtue were splendid, nor his adversity ever more cloudy than his vices were execrable and his follies contemptible. His parallel with Mark Antony holds in many, but those the worst parts of his character; though his ill-balanced frame of mind deformed the august model of Alexander, with whom he has also been compared, and with whom he might with more propriety be contrasted. In ambition and abilities and the rapid alternations of his glory and disgrace, he strikingly resembled the irregular greatness of Alcibiades: both of them alike eccentric in their excellencies and deme-

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Death
three years
afterwards
and character.

³² Diodor. Excerpt. l. xxi. p. 561.

³³ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 752.

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VIII.His inter-
ment in
Demetrius.

rits; characters detested or pitied by the good and wise, and even with the vulgar, names of ambiguous renown. Seleucus, as if he had repented of the harsh treatment of his father-in-law, sent his ashes in a golden urn, encircled with a diadem, to his son Antigonus. This dutiful prince sailed from Corinth, the principal seat of his power, and met the funeral escort in the midst of the *Ægean* sea³⁴. The remains of Demetrius were then conveyed to Thessaly, and solemnly interred in the city bearing his name near the mouth of the river Naurus³⁵ on the Pelasgic gulph; a city faithful to the son of its founder, and which became, under the Macedonian kings of his family, one of the strongest fetters of Greece.

Allied by
marriage
with all the
kings his
contempo-
raries, ex-
cept Lysi-
machus.

Demetrius was allied by marriage with all his royal contemporaries, except Lysimachus only. Phylla, the sister of Cassander, bore to him his successor Antigonus surnamed Gonatas, from Gonnos in Thessaly the place of his birth; and the admired Stratonice, married successively to Seleucus, and, as we shall see presently, to Antiochus, the son of that prince. History is silent as to the fruit of Demetrius' marriages with Lanassa daughter to Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, and with Deidamia, sister to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and with Euridice the descendent of Miltiades the Athenian. By Ptolemais, the daughter of Ptolemy Soter, he had a son called after himself, who obtained, as will be seen hereafter, a transient royalty in Cyrene: and who inherited, together with the name of Demetrius, his elegance of person, his profligacy, and his bad fortune.

Unhappy
effects of
polygamy.

This privilege of polygamy, though used more sparingly by the other Greek kings of the East, was asserted however by all of them, and proved to most a fertile source of misery. Through their intermarriages, also, with each other, national hostility was embittered, and often excited, by domestic broils. To causes of this sort we may refer the future destinies of the three remaining successors of Alexander; Ptolemy, Lysimachus; Seleucus; all of them quitted life

³⁴ Plutarch in Demet.³⁵ Strabo, l. ix. p. 436.

in the same Olympiad; Ptolemy a year after Demetrius; Lysimachus at the same interval from the death of Ptolemy; and Seleucus within seven months after he had defeated and slain Lysimachus.

The first Ptolemy had now governed Egypt thirty-six years with equal felicity and glory. In the dawn of his fortune he had married Euridice daughter to Antipater, who for several years was acknowledged for his only lawful wife: but at length he also espoused her kinswoman Berenice, a Macedonian widow of great beauty and accomplishments³⁶, who had accompanied³⁷ Euridice to Egypt, and by whom Ptolemy already had children. The fruits of his first marriage were a prince named Ptolemy *Keraunus*, and a daughter Lysandra, who had been early married to Agathocles the son of Lysimachus. His second wife Berenice had born Ptolemy *Philadelphus*, (I anticipate those epithets of distinction), and Arsinoë, whom, as before mentioned, Lysimachus had espoused in his old age, after ungratefully repudiating the virtuous and accomplished Amastris³⁸. Having attained his eightieth year, the king of Egypt, with that prudent foresight which marked all the important transactions of his reign, determined not only to appoint a successor, but to associate him in his own lifetime to the government, and thereby securely to establish his authority. The bold sanguinary character of Keraunus rendered him an unfit partner in power; but the milder³⁹ virtues of Philadelphus were heightened in Ptolemy's esteem by the winning blandishments of his mother Berenice⁴⁰. The prudence also and capacity of Philadelphus promised an administration at once equitable and vigorous, and a successor likely to complete those extensive yet solid plans which his father had so steadily pursued for the improvement of his kingdom. Moved by such considerations, Ptolemy adorned Philadelphus with the robe of royalty and diadem: showed

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Euridice
and Berenice
wives
of Ptolemy
Soter.

The son of
Berenice
raised to
the throne
in his fa-
ther's life-
time.

³⁶ Theocrit. Idyll. xvii.

³⁷ Diogen. Laert. in Demet. Phaler. Pausanias Attic. c. 7.

³⁸ Memnon apud Phot. p. 716.

³⁹ Pausanias, l. i. c. 6.

⁴⁰ Id. ibid.

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him as their sovereign to the people and army; and to confirm their allegiance by example as well as precept, is said to have officiated next day as one of his son's attendants, observing that it was less glorious to reign than to be father to a king⁴¹. The ceremony of enthroning Philadelphus was celebrated with all convenient speed, by a festival uniting the elegance of Grecian games, with the magnificence of Roman triumphs⁴²; and which, as it surpassed both those splendid exhibitions in their respective excellencies, will hereafter be examined among other monuments of the arts, commerce, and prosperity of Egypt under its Grecian masters. The old king lived two years after the coronation of his son; and it is pleasing to remark that the dutiful behaviour of Philadelphus afforded him daily reason for approving his well-placed generosity.

His brother
Keraunus
leaves the
kingdom in
disgust.

The discerning preference shown to a younger brother drove the haughty Keraunus from a country where every object wounded his pride and envenomed his envy. His sister Lysandra, being the wife of Agathocles son to Lysimachus, the court of this prince was chosen for his angry retreat. Lysimachus had already quarrelled with Pyrrhus, his coadjutor in the conquest of Macedon, and having easily divested him of his share in their common spoils had added that entire kingdom to his own dominions in Thrace and the Lesser Asia. Through the whole of those extensive countries, the fame of the brave, yet mild Agathocles, illustrated and upheld the stern government of his father. But Arsinoe, the Egyptian wife of Lysimachus, inherited only the personal charms of her mother Berenice, while her mind was deformed by the blackest passions. She had given children to Lysimachus, but her heart consumed in a forbidden flame for his son Agathocles. Her incestuous advances were rejected by the young prince; and this insult to despised beauty, was exasperated by the consideration that her contemner and his offspring intercepted her own children from the throne.

Tragedy in
the family
of Lysima-
chus occa-
sioned by
his mar-
riage with
Arsinoe.

⁴¹ Justin, l. xvi. c. 2.

⁴² Athenæus, l. v. p. 196. & seq.

Through the cruel artifices of his stepmother, Agathocles was brought into unjust suspicion with his father; imprisoned and murdered⁴³. The public astonishment at this atrocious deed, was surpassed only by the indignation or terror which it universally excited. Keraunus, with his sister Lysandra and her children, fled to Seleucus then in his Assyrian capital. They were accompanied or followed by many illustrious Macedonians, who joined with them in soliciting the protection of that great prince, against a relentless tyrant exasperated by a female fury⁴⁴.

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Murder of
his son
Agathocles
—whose
friends
fly to
Seleucus.
Olymp.
cxxxiv. 2. B.
C. 283.

Three reasons concurred in persuading Seleucus to make the cause of the suppliants his own. The jealousy of power and neighbourhood, rendered Lysimachus his most formidable enemy. Besides the Asiatic peninsula, enlivened and invigorated by such a large admixture of Grecian colonization, that prince commanded the countries in Europe long preeminent in policy or in prowess. Seleucus considered him as the great western power; he compared the Thracians, the Macedonians, and the Greeks who had long followed the standard of Macedon, with the Egyptians governed by Ptolemy, and the Assyrians or Syrians governed by himself; nations which through the long domination of barbarous masters, had lost their ancient energies. He knew the subjects of Lysimachus; he knew his own; and determined to avail himself of the discontents among the former, and to prevent them ere it was too late, from invading and conquering the latter.

Reasons
which de-
termined
Seleucus
to espouse
their cause.

In this resolution he was confirmed by applications from many governors in Lower Asia, who having themselves witnessed the gallantry and generosity of Agathocles, were from concern for the loss of that prince, desirous to shake off their allegiance to his inhuman murderer. In the number of these governors, the most conspicuous was Philetærus, a native of Tyana in Cappadocia, who, through the friendship of Agathocles, had been appointed keeper in the castle

Applica-
tions to
him from
governors
in Lesser
Asia.

Philetærus
of Perga-
mus.

⁴³ Conf. Pausan. l. i. c. 10. and Justin. l. xvii. c. 1. ⁴⁴ Id. ibid.
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of Pergamus. This fortress stood at the back of the *Æolian* coast in the inland district of Mysia, rising on an abrupt mountain of a conical form, surrounded by strong walls, and commanding the adjacent territory. It had been chosen as a proper place by Lysimachus for depositing his superfluous treasures, accumulated by rapacity, preserved with anxious avarice, and which were committed to the severe custody, as it seemed of Philetærus an eunuch⁴⁵, such persons being usually employed as treasurers, from the opinion that anciently prevailed of their vigilance and fidelity⁴⁶. Philetærus however was an enunch, whose mind it had been impossible to emasculate. On the news of Agathocles' murder he was filled with resentment; and to accelerate its gratification wrote immediately to Seleucus, that should he march towards Lower Asia, he would find the castle of Pergamus at his disposal. He was faithful to his promise; though the tragical events that followed, and that will be related presently, enabled Philetærus to retain the fortress in his own hands, and by means of its impregnable strength and the vast treasures contained in it, to lay the foundation of the Pergamenian kingdom⁴⁷.

Seleucus' predilection for Macedonia and the West.

The third cause that urged Seleucus to march towards the Grecian sea, originated in a far more amiable source than the jealousy of power, or the desire of vengeance. He had now passed his seventy-seventh year; and since the time that in early youth he crossed the Hellespont with Alexander, had spent fifty-three years in Asia, without once revisiting his native country. At the zenith of his greatness, the breast of this fortunate prince swelled at the thoughts of again surveying the innocent and humble scenes of his youth; of recognising the happy familiarity of his longed for national manners; and of sharing his boundless prospects

⁴⁵ Strabo, l. viii. p. 623. & seq. Pausan. l. i. c. 10.

⁴⁶ Xenoph. de Cyri. Instit. l. vii. p. 196. and Plutarch in Demet. Philetærus' medals distinguished by a serpent, on the reverse, have been supposed symbolical of vigilance; but those who honoured him with

medals would not allude to his humble condition of treasurer under Lysimachus: the serpent is borrowed from the legend concerning the colonization of Pergamus, by *Æsculapius*.

⁴⁷ Strabo and Pausanias, *ibid*.

with his dear hereditary friends. With the patriotism of a Greek, or the warlike pride of a Macedonian, he turned with a sort of virtuous disdain from the wealth and pomp of the East, and looked wishfully towards the coast of Asia Minor, and the countries beyond the *Ægean* sea.

This strong predilection in favour of the West, had been already marked and attested by a very singular transaction. Shortly after his great victory at Ipsus, he married, as we have seen, the young and beautiful Stratonice, whose grandfather, Antigonus, had been his contemporary, his friend, his rival, and finally his victim. This second marriage which gave to Seleucus a son, whose name has escaped notice in history, threatened to prove fatal, but in a very unusual manner to his blooming heir Antiochus, whose virtues had long been the fondest delight of his father. Amidst all their crimes and cruelties, the Macedonian kings of the East were unusually happy in the interchange of parental affection and filial duty. These sentiments were conspicuous in Antigonus and Demetrius; in the two Ptolemies; above all in Seleucus and his son Antiochus⁴⁸; and, on the part of the elder princes, the instinct of nature appears to have acquired the strength and steadiness of a ruling passion, through the fond prospect of transmitting to a distant posterity their new and powerful monarchies. A year had scarcely elapsed from the marriage of Seleucus and Stratonice, when his son Antiochus was seized with a pining malady, so various in its symptoms, that it was difficult to guess its cause. Under this singular disorder, he was attended by Erasistratus of Alexandria, of whose labours in science we shall afterwards have occasion to speak. This physician, remarking that the prince's condition was not altered on the approach of other visitants of either sex, but that when his stepmother Stratonice entered his apartment, the vital motions that seemed ready to cease, began immediately to resume fresh vigour, concluded that his disease was seated in the mind, that love was its cause; and that Stratonice, his mother-in-law, was

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Story of his
son Antiochus and
wife Stratonice.

⁴⁸ Plutarch in Demet.

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the concealed object of his passion. Satisfied with this indication, Erasistratus communicated his discovery to Seleucus with that characteristic freedom, which Greek citizens maintained in their intercourse with the greatest potentates. He told the Syrian king, that his son's case was indeed deplorable; "He pines with incurable love for a woman belonging to another, and whom no consideration whatever can induce her husband to resign; I speak with certainty for she is my own wife⁴⁹."

Stratonice
married to
Antiochus
who is sent
to govern
the East.
Olymp.
cxxi. 4. B.
C. 293.

An eastern despot would have taken off the head of Erasistratus: an European monarch would blush to desire the most humble of his subjects to cede to an amorous youth the chosen partner of his life. But among the immediate successors of Alexander, though a few bold intriguing females obtained, as we have seen, great influence in public affairs, yet the natural equality of the sexes was very imperfectly upheld, polygamy and the freedom of divorce having destroyed the whole sanctity of marriage, from which alone women derive their rank in society. Seleucus, therefore, while he feared to command, was not ashamed to intreat Erasistratus to transfer his wife to Antiochus, whose vehemence of passion merited commiseration through the virtuous efforts which he made to suppress or conceal it. The physician desired the king to make the case his own, and seriously to reflect, whether to save the life of his son, he would be willing to resign to him his stepmother Stratonice. "Would to heaven," Seleucus answered, "my compliance in this particular could avail." "Then you are yourself," said Erasistratus, "the physician that must cure him." This triumph over love, though he was then in his sixty-eighth year, was celebrated by Greek writers as the most glorious of Seleucus' victories. Having assembled the Macedonians in Antioch and its neighbourhood, he announced to them the important change in the state of his family, and the

⁴⁹ Conf. Appian. Syriac. c. 59. & Maxim. l. v. c. 7. and Galen. Prognost. Plutarch in Demet. Valer. nost.

powerful motives which had produced it. After expatiating on those exploits of his life, in which he had endeavoured to imitate his immortal master, he concluded by telling them, that being now advanced in life, he wished to alleviate the burthen of too extensive a monarchy. "With whom then, can I so properly divide its glory and its cares, as with persons the most dear to me and yourselves, Antiochus and Stratonice; whose virtues you well know, and whose mutual affection and befitting years promise to add many new props to the empire. With a part of you, I purpose to send this son of experienced worth to govern the East, recommending to your observance not the barbarous institutions of vanquished Asia, yet this general rule, that you revere the commands of your sovereign as the dictates of wisdom and justice. The army listened with respect, and answered with acclamation: hailing Seleucus as the greatest of kings, next to Alexander, and the best of fathers ⁶⁰.

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Such is the general account of this transaction, delivered down from antiquity; yet, in the mutilated and meagre narrative, a hint ⁶¹ is dropped indicating that Seleucus, in sending his son to the banks of the Tigris, had a more important object in view than that hitherto ascribed to him by historians. A prince whose loftiness of mind was equalled by his sagacity, had discerned those local causes above described ⁶² which opposed the consolidation of Syria and Assyria into one great monarchy. He saw, on the other hand, as will evidently appear from his conduct, that his favourite province of Syria was well calculated for being joined with the peninsula of Asia, because it might easily be preserved by the same controlling army. While Antiochus and his descendents reigned the East, it was the purpose of Seleucus to form the countries west of the Euphrates, into an establishment for the younger branch of his family. His design was indeed frustrated by the suddenness of his murder, when there was the

Seleucus' political views in this measure.

⁶⁰ Id. *ibid.*

⁶¹ Εὐέλπε δὲ μὲν το μὲγας εἰς τὴν οὐμ-

τεραν ἀμερικνικαν. Appian *ubi supra*.

⁶² See above, sect. ii.

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least reason to apprehend such an event: but the wisdom of his plan is justified by the experience of all ages. Of the innumerable dynasties bearing away in Asia, before and after the house of Seleucus, none will be found durable that united the dominions on both sides the Euphrates. It should seem, therefore, that sound policy concurred with other motives above mentioned, in turning his arms westward, and directing them against the odious Lysimachus.

Seleucus
invades
Lesser
Asia, de-
feats and
slays Lysi-
machus
in the bat-
tle of Cor-
upedion.
Olymp.
xxxiv. 4. B.
C. 281.

Through the arrangements previously made with his partisans in Lesser Asia, Seleucus had little difficulty in overrunning the whole of that peninsula. Most of the fortified cities surrendered at the first summons. Sardes, the capital of Lydia, and a few other places made a feeble and short resistance⁵³. The conquest was so rapid, that Lysimachus, who, upon the first news of hostilities, hastened to repel them, found the enemy already advanced into Hellespontian Phrygia. In that province, an obscure place called Corupedion⁵⁴, was the memorable scene of the last combat among Alexander's companions. Having performed the duty of able generals, the kings of Thrace and Syria, both on the verge of the grave, but both measuring life only by extent of empire, had recourse to their swords and lances, fighting as if the success of the day depended on the exertions of their respective prowess⁵⁵. Fortune favoured the worthier champion: Lysimachus fell, his troops were totally destroyed, dispersed, or captured; and their disasters so dreadful that no request was made for leave to bury their slain. Alexander, son to Lysimachus, by a barbarous Odrysian, at length applied to Lysandra widow of Agathocles and his own sister-in-law, to intercede with Seleucus for permission to inter the body of his vanquished rival. It had been preserved, and was now discovered through the fidelity of a favourite dog,

Lysima-
chus' body,
how pre-
served and
recognised.

⁵³ Polyzenus, l. iv. c. 9.

⁵⁵ Conf. Appian Syriac, c. 62.

⁵⁴ *Kupuridion*, altogether different from the *Kupurperoidon* of Arrian Exped. Alexand. l. ii. c. 4.

Memnon apud Phot. c. ix. p. 714. Pausanias, l. i. c. 10. Justin, l. vii c. 1.

which had continued many days watching the remains of his master, and fiercely defending them, it is said, against vultures and wild beasts⁵⁶. They were conveyed by the dutiful Alexander to Lysimachia; whose citizens erected in honour of their king and patron, a pompous Mausoleum visited and described by Pausanias in the second century⁵⁷.

Thus perished Lysimachus; a severe master, a brutal husband, a cruel father, a fierce and relentless enemy; and whose stern haughtiness to obtain his ends could stoop to the meanest baseness⁵⁸. In abilities for war he was inferior to none of his contemporaries, as appeared most conspicuously in his celebrated campaign in Lesser Asia, where he long opposed Antigonus with inferior force. His admiration for Alexander was common to him with all those capable of appreciating military merit. Of this, an example remained in the town built by Antigonus in the neighbourhood of ancient Troy, of which Lysimachus, after defeating that prince, changed the name from Antigonía to Alexandria⁵⁹. This Alexandria Troas soon became a city of note; and continued such in the time of Strabo the geographer, under the form of a Roman colony. Lysimachus had perpetuated the honours or rather worship of his own name, by a seaport judiciously situated at the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus. He was less fortunate in his attempt to immortalize the profligate Arsinoë, whose artifices working on his own furious passions, had occasioned his ruin. The Ephesians were commanded to leave the revered precincts of their temple, and to occupy a new city under the sacred patronage of Arsinoë. They remonstrated against this absurd proposal, and delayed to comply with it, until Lysimachus choked up the canals or rather sewers perforating their streets, and laid their houses under water⁶⁰. Thus, cruelly driven from their homes, they occu-

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His cha-
racter.

His new
cities.

⁵⁶ Appian Syriac, c. 64.

⁵⁷ Pausanias, l. i. c. 10.

⁵⁸ Witness his forged letters to Pyrrhus, and the bribe offered to Seleucus to tempt him to the mur-

der of Demetrius. Plutarch in Pyrrho. et Demet.

⁵⁹ Strabo, l. xiii. p. 593.

⁶⁰ Strabo, l. xiv. p. 640.

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pied the new mansions prepared for them; but the illustrious name of Ephesus revived and finally prevailed.

Seleucus'
fond hopes.

As Ptolemy Soter had died, as will be shown presently, above a year before the battle of Corupedion fatal to Lysimachus, Seleucus now remained alone of all the Macedonian captains, fellow soldiers and friends of Alexander. The proud title of Nicator, which he had assumed on the first dawn of his greatness, appeared to be fully justified by the event. He superstitiously regarded himself as the peculiar favourite of heaven, which his flatterers encouraged him to hope, still kept in reserve for him some more extraordinary prosperity⁶¹. But how blind are the thoughts of man! Seleucus was doomed speedily to fall by treason as sudden as its author was unsuspected.

He is murdered by
Ptolemy
Keraunus.
Olymp.
cxxxvi. B. C.
280.

The assassin's
motives.

His desire of revisiting Macedon, and reigning in a country where he had first drawn breath, and spent the innocent gaiety of his humble youth, made him in haste to despatch his affairs in Lesser Asia and cross the Hellespont. Among other generals and friends he was accompanied⁶² by Ptolemy Keraunus, the expatriated prince of Egypt, bound to him by the strongest ties, and who from Seleucus alone, now victorious in every part of the empire, might expect to be reinstated in his birth-right. But Keraunus by his mother Euridicè was the grandson of Antipater, successively minister, viceroy, and protector in Macedon; and whose memory was still revered in that country. Ptolemy Soter, though reputed to be the son of Lagus, was well known to spring from king Philip; and of this Ptolemy Soter, Keraunus was the eldest son. The near chance of obtaining the kingdom of Macedon by the murder of his benefactor, appeared to this traitor pre-

⁶¹ This was confirmed by a romantic story told of his mother Ladicè, wife to one of Philip's generals named Antiochus. She dreamt that she had an amour with Apollo who presented her with a ring, the gem of which was impressed with an anchor. The ring was found in

her bed; and to commemorate her son's divine origin, the anchor is impressed on his medals. Conf. Appian, Justin, Ausonius, and Spanheim de Usu et Præstan. Numism. p. 406.

⁶² Pausanias, l. i. c. 16.

ferable to the distant hope of recovering by Seleucus' assistance his own birthright in Egypt. Neither the grounds of the conspiracy, nor the persons instrumental in it as accomplices, are clearly pointed out in history, though both may be warrantably conjectured from the circumstances attending its execution. As Seleucus proceeded to Lysimachia, the capital of his late rival, he was struck with the appearance of an altar of uncommon magnitude, erected in a place called Argos, and said to be the work of the Argonauts. While he curiously examined this remain of antiquity, and was the more inquisitive, it is said, about its name and origin, because an oracle had warned him to beware of Argos⁶³, Keraunus stepped behind his back and stabbed him to the heart. The murderer hastened to Lysimachia, announcing himself to its inhabitants and garrison as the avenger of Lysimachus, the founder and patron of their city. Through the assistance of some Lysimachians, privy to his design, he easily gained a place of all others the most hostile to Seleucus. Under an escort of its citizens, he ventured to appear before the Asiatic army, now in much doubt and disorder, and reconciled himself with this mercenary body of men by dividing with it the treasures of its late general⁶⁴. By such acts of successful villany, Keraunus made good his pretensions to the throne of Macedon; and cruelly deformed it, as we shall see, for the space of three years, till the more desolating invasion of the Gauls, of whom this murderous usurper was the first victim.

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Thus perished by treason Seleucus, who, from the condition of a private Macedonian, had risen through a long course of strenuous exertion, to the sovereignty of a mighty empire. Had he lived a few years longer, his conquests would have devolved to his posterity in two great divisions; the countries between the Euphrates and Indus, over which he had already established the government of Antiochus and Stra-

Character
of Seleucus.

⁶³ Appian. Syriac, c. 63.

nias, l. i. c. 16. and Justin, l. xvii. c.

⁶⁴ Conf. Appian. Syriac, c. 63. 2.

Memnon apud Phot. p. 714. Pausa-

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tonice; and the less extensive, indeed, but equally valuable possessions between the Euphrates and Danube, which he purposed to retain in his own hands, until he could transfer them with safety to the younger branch of his family. The first division coincides with what is called the Persian empire in modern times; the second embraces, if we except Egypt, nearly the whole extent of the Turkish dominion. Seleucus aspired not like his master, to unite and harmonize the whole commercial world; he relinquished the maritime establishments in the central province of Babylonia, so essential to that great purpose. Yet the designs, as well as actions ascribed to him, confirm his character in history, as an indefatigable⁶⁵ and just prince, a firm friend, an affectionate father, an indulgent master; who gained the love of his eastern subjects by governing them according to their inveterate principles and habits; and who, among all contemporary sovereigns, was preeminent in consistent greatness of conduct, flowing from true royalty of soul⁶⁶. His remains being purchased by his friend Philetærus, governor of Pergamus, from the avarice of his execrable assassin, were transmitted to his son Antiochus, then unhappily involved in many wars, as we shall see, in Asia; and by him afterwards interred in Seleucia on the Orontes; in which city a magnificent temple, called the Nicætorion, was dedicated to his name and worship. Seleucus built many new cities, of which, however, far the greater part was raised through the superstitious⁶⁷ motives formerly explained; many were peopled through the ruin of places in their neighbourhood, whose sites were equally convenient; and only a very few were erected in conformity with those great military and commercial views, by which in this particular, his master had uniformly been

His new
cities.

⁶⁵ He used to say, that did men consider the toils and anxieties of government, nay, merely the perpetual fatigue of reading and writing letters, they would cease to en-

vy the condition of kings. Plutarch An Seni sit gerend. Resp. p. 790.

⁶⁶ Γεν γὰρ ἡγεμον βασιλικωτάτων. Arrian Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 22.

⁶⁷ Diodor. l. xx. s. 102.

guided. After recovering Babylonia, and several years before the battle of Ipsus, Seleucus built his new capital on the western bank of the Tigris, forty miles north of Babylon. In a country destitute of wood and stone, whose edifices were hastily erected with bricks baked in the sun, and cemented with the native bitumen, Seleucia Babylonia speedily eclipsed the ancient capital of the East⁶⁸. In consequence of inundations of the Euphrates and neglect, Babylon gradually sunk into meanness and obscurity, whereas Seleucia soon boasted equal populousness and splendour; advantages which it permanently held as the seat of Syrian, Parthian, and Persian kings, till sacked by the Saracens six hundred and thirty-seven years after Christ; and in little more than a century afterwards finally supplanted by Bagdad under the Caliph Almanzor.

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Seleucia
Babylonia.

As Seleucus had commemorated his conquests in Assyria by the new Babylon called after himself, so his acquisitions in Lower Asia gained by the battle of Ipsus, were immortalized by the foundation of Antiochia, Antiochus being the name both of his revered father, and of his beloved son. This royal seat must have been in part finished shortly after that decisive victory, since Seleucus already resided in it when he espoused Stratonice. It rose on the banks of the Orontes so near to Antigonía, a site judiciously chosen by Antigonus, that the demolition of the latter supplied at little expense its materials. The appellation of Antioch was given by Seleucus to sixteen other cities scattered over his vast dominions; his own name was illustrated by nine Seleucias; that of his mother by five Laodiceas; and the names of his two wives were honoured by three Apameas and one Stratonicea⁶⁹; forming in all thirty-five cities of note

New cities
in Syria.

⁶⁸ Conf. Polyb. l. v. c. 48; Strabo, l. xvi. p. 511. Plin. l. vi. c. 26. and Plutarch in Lucull.

⁶⁹ Seleucus' new cities are enumerated by Appian. de Reb. Syr. c. 57. They have been erroneously augmented from thirty-five to thirty

ty nine by mistaking the sentence *τις οὐκ ἐστὶ τὰς γυναῖκες τρεῖς Ἀπαμείας καὶ Στρατονικίαν μίαν*. "He named four cities in honour of his wives; three Apameas, and one Stratonicea." The latter clause is only explanatory of the former.

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Antioch.

named after himself or his dearest relatives. Many foundations of less account realized favourite scenes in Greece or Macedon; others revived the memory of some illustrious exploit; and not a few bore the glorious name of Alexander, whose image was seldom absent from the minds of his followers. Of all these new cities, next to Seleucia on the Tigris, Antioch on the Orontes continued to be the most considerable both in rank and populousness, being successively the seat of Syrian kings, of Roman governors, and of Christian bishops. It was distant about twelve miles from the sea, and in the midst of a rich plain fourteen miles long and six broad. The warmth of the climate was refreshed by the vicinity of mountains, abounding in vines. Seleucia, at the mouth of the Orontes, a convenient haven with deep water, was its harbour; the irriguous vale of Daphne, consecrated to the divine children of Latona, formed its delightful umbrageous suburb⁷⁰. This capital of Syria has been supplanted in modern times by Aleppo, about sixty miles from the sea, and nearly the same distance in a south-eastern direction from Antioch. Whoever examines the two situations, in point of fertility of soil, salubrity of air, and facility of communications by sea and land; whoever compares the diminutive Chalus, or Kou, scantily refreshing Aleppo, with the noble windings of the Orontes⁷¹. will perceive the immense difference between the Greeks and Saracens, as in all other respects, so in the choice of happy sites for their cities.

Next to Seleucus, the first Ptolemy of Egypt, who died two years before him, was the most successful and most potent of the Macedonian captains. Ptolemy's dominions were less extensive, and his renown, in the eastern world, less illustrious; but his fame with posterity gathered new strength through the more permanent effects of his exertions,

⁷⁰ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750. and the orator of Antioch quoted in the note, agreeing with the modern descriptions in Maundrel and Pocock.

⁷¹ See Mr. Brown's Travels, and particularly his account of Antakie, Antioch; and Swadea, Seleucia.

and the nearer neighbourhood of the countries in which they were made, to those warlike nations of the west, which were to become the appreciators of merit, and the dispensers of glory. Like Augustus, the founder of the imperial system at Rome, Ptolemy, the founder of the Greek dynasty in Egypt, exhibited, in different periods of his life, a wide diversity of character. While his fortune was insecure, and his power unconsolidated, he was little scrupulous about any means for removing such obstacles as stood in the way of his ambition; but when the event of the battle of Ipsus had confirmed him in the sovereignty of Egypt, Cyrene, and Cœle Syria, the happiness of his subjects seemed to be the sole object of his pursuit; and this generous end he attained by the mildness yet vigilance of his government, by his zealous encouragement of domestic industry and foreign intercourse, and by his wise policy in securing for Egypt those appendages, and those only, which were essential to her best interests and solid prosperity. Towards procuring instruments the fittest to second his purposes, the perturbed state of neighbouring countries eminently contributed. The unceasing wars in Lesser Asia, the bloody revolutions in Macedon, and the miserable disorders which infested both the continent and the islands of Greece, suspended, in some measure, the coarse and necessary labours of man, and threatened totally to ruin all refined arts and all ornamental learning. To fugitives of every description, but especially to proficients in elegant or useful studies, Egypt offered a secure asylum; and thus by a singular felicity, did that kingdom which was famed as the mother of arts and sciences, receive back into her hospitable bosom, her full grown, highly improved, but now persecuted children. With regard to this interesting subject, which forms the characteristic glory of Ptolemy's reign, it is yet possible to enter into a pretty satisfactory detail; and to explain by what means Alexandria first acquired that preeminent station in the world, which

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VIII.Policy of
Ptolemy
Soter from
the battle
of Ipsus to
his death.
Olymp.
cxix. 4.—
cxxiv 2. B.
C. 301.—
283.

CHAP. it maintained, in matters of science, for eight, and in matters
VIII. of commerce, for eighteen centuries.

Establish-
ment of the
Alexandri-
an library
at the sug-
gestion of
Demetrius
Phalereus.

At the head of the men of letters, who sought the protection of Ptolemy, it is fit to place Demetrius Phalereus, of whom we have above spoken, because to him very peculiar benefits are ascribed. Having governed Athens with singular ability for the space of ten years, this illustrious statesman had been obliged to retire first to Bœotian Thebes, (from whence he was soon driven by the increasing troubles of Greece), and afterwards to Alexandria in Egypt⁷². Ptolemy received him with the utmost courtesy; and speedily discerning his merit, associated him to his council of legislation; some historians say, even placed him at its head⁷³. Demetrius had been the scholar of Theophrastus, and Theophrastus, the scholar of Aristotle; both which philosophers had formed great libraries. At the suggestion of Demetrius, Ptolemy⁷⁴ determined to execute the same design on a far larger scale. The books which an extensive intercourse with foreign nations brought into his country, were either purchased or transcribed⁷⁵: his emissaries were busy in the temples, the fairs and markets of Greece and Lesser Asia; and though we know not the accumulation of learning made by himself personally, he founded a library, which, under his last Greek successors, amounted to 700,000 volumes⁷⁶, deposited in two different temples, in different quarters of the city⁷⁷. The word volume, however, conveys, on this occasion, too magnificent an idea; for, in writings of any considerable extent among the ancients, each book, and sometimes each chapter or section, was rolled into a separate volume⁷⁸.

⁷² Diodorus, l. xx. s. 45.

⁷³ Ælian. Var. Hist. l. iii. c. 17.

⁷⁴ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xii. c. 2.
et cont. Apion, l. ii.

⁷⁵ Galen Commentar. in Hippocrat. de morb. Vulgar.

⁷⁶ Epiphan. de Ponder. and Mensur. Tertullian. Apologet. c. 18. Agellius and Ammianus Marcellinus.

⁷⁷ Conf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 794. and Epiphan. ubi supra.

⁷⁸ Ovid's Metamorphoses consisted of fifteen volumes; meaning thereby fifteen books. Athenæus says, that the grammarian Didymus, who lived at Alexandria in the time of Julius Cæsar, composed 3,500 volumes; Seneca says, 4,000 volumes; and Origen 6,000.

The establishment of the Alexandrian library was accom-
 panied by an institution still more memorable, because then
 single in its kind. In various cities of Greece, there were
 temples in honour of the Muses, thence called *Museia*, where
 these beneficent daughters of Memory, were worshipped by
 hymns and sacrifices⁷⁹. But the museum raised by Ptolemy,
 bore a peculiar reference to the intellectual character of those
 goddesses; and was dedicated chiefly to the advancement of
 science, to the culture of taste, and to improvement in all
 those liberal studies, from which the civilized portion of
 mankind derive their best helps in business, and more than
 half their enjoyments in leisure. Not priests, but scholars of
 various denominations were its inhabitants, who, being ad-
 mitted into it through the approved merit of their labours,
 subsisted by the king's bounty at common tables, where men
 of different pursuits, but congenial minds, enjoyed mutual
 opportunities for enlarging their attainments, or sharpening
 their faculties⁸⁰. Under the latter Ptolemies, the museum,
 indeed, had a priest for its president⁸¹, in compliance with
 the customs of the Egyptians, among whom all offices of
 dignity were confined, as we have seen, to the sacerdotal
 cast. But it appears not that either the founder of the insti-
 tution, or his immediate successors, respected in this parti-
 cular the usages of their subjects: and it should seem that the
 museum is the first establishment in history destined to the
 promotion of learning and science, independently of state
 policy and the popular superstition which upheld it.

Accordingly, whoever enjoyed the office of president, that
 of librarian was certainly considered as the more important,
 and probably also as the more honourable. By a numerous
 list of authorities⁸², the care of the library is said to have

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Museum.
—Peculiar
nature of
that insti-
tution.

Demetrius
Phalereus
its first
librarian.

⁷⁹ Strabo, l. ix. p. 410.

⁸⁰ Conf. Plat. advers. Colott. p. 1095. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 794. *Μουσικὸν καὶ τραγικὸν Αἰγυπτία συνκαλεῖται τὰς τῆ γῆ ἐλλογίμους*. "The museum was a com-
 mon table in Egypt to which the

learned luminaries of the whole
 world were invited." Philostratus.

⁸¹ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 794.

⁸² Josephus, Tertullian, Clemens
 of Alexandria, &c.

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been first committed to Demetrius Phalareus, at whose suggestion it was collected. But the silence of other authors⁸³ on this subject has left room for the objection, that such an employment was inconsistent with Demetrius' more important political functions in Egypt, and unsuitable to the high office which he had long borne in Athens. But the comparative honour of offices is, in different ages, very differently appreciated. Rarity is often a source of dignity. Few great libraries had yet been formed. The museum of Alexandria stood single in the world. Demetrius prized his fame as a scholar far above his transient power as a statesman; and the political functions which he exercised in Egypt did not hinder him from composing in that country many treatises, not merely characterized by flowing elegance and Attic sweetness of style⁸⁴, but by the weight and value of their matter; by acuteness in research, solidity of sense, and variety of learning.

Succeeded
by Zenodo-
tus of
Ephesus.

The superintendence of the library could not however have been held long by this illustrious Athenian; since Zenodotus of Ephesus is noticed as librarian under Ptolemy Soter⁸⁵, and continued in that situation during the whole of the long reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Zenodotus had succeeded the elegiac poet Philetas as preceptor to the latter of these princes. He was celebrated as a poet, and still more as a critic⁸⁶. By some authors he is said ignorantly, to have been the first emendator of Homer. His edition of the inimitable bard was indeed in high estimation in his own times, and is often quoted by Eustathius at the distance of fifteen centuries.

His con-
temporary
poets.

Besides Philetas and Zenodotus the poets just mentioned, court favour was extended to Simmias of Rhodes and Phintion of Tarentum. The prizes of comedy were won by Philemon, Posidippus, and Diphilus⁸⁷. The incomparable Menander did not swell the list. He had been fellow student with Demetrius Phalareus in the school of Theophrastus;

⁸³ Strabo, Diodorus, Plutarch, &c.

⁸⁶ Ælian. V. H. Athenæus and Stobæus.

⁸⁴ Cicero de Fin. l. v. and passim.

⁸⁵ Suidas ad Zenodot.

⁸⁷ Diphilus Comicus insignis et sententijs affluens. Euseb. Pamphil

and the poet having adhered unalterably to the statesman through every vicissitude of fortune, thereby dangerously offended the Athenians, whom his comedies so much delighted. The attachment shown to him by Menander and other friends in adversity, Demetrius compensated by sharing with them the emoluments of his high offices under Ptolemy⁸⁸. It appears not however that, allured by such munificence, Menander was ever tempted to prefer the court of Alexandria to his unobstructed independence of life and study in Athens.

The Phalerean, whom Ptolemy so highly and so justly prized, was a votary to genuine Aristotelism, as taught by its great author; a philosophy not less solid than lofty, adapted to courts and camps, and all the business of active life. Yet the visionaries Diodorus of Aspendus and other Pythagoreans or Platonicians, as they came afterwards to be called, were hospitably received, and impartially protected⁸⁹. How fanciful soever might be their tenets, from whatever quarter they came, and whatever causes had driven them from their respective countries, all literary strangers were ever welcome to Ptolemy. Many years before the foundation of his museum, Theodorus of Cyrene fled to him from the priests of that dependency, whom this Epicurean had offended by speaking too lightly of the popular superstition. He found a safe asylum in Alexandria, and shared the king's bounty⁹⁰. Hegesias, another Epicurean of Cyrene, was silenced however by the king's orders; his opinions were not only extravagant in theory, but deemed pernicious in practice⁹¹.

Ptolemy, like his great brother, delighted to relax in literary conversation, and to vary the dull pomp of war and government. From the wisdom of the learned, he doubtless

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Impartiality in Ptolemy's protection.

Ptolemy catches amusement from their learned folly.

⁸⁸ Diogen. Laert. in Demet. Phaler.

⁸⁹ Id. in Pythagor. Conf. Athenæus, l. iv. p. 165. and Jamblich. de Vit. Pythagor. c. ult.

⁹⁰ According to Diogenes Laert.

tius in Aristippo, Ptolemy employed him as an ambassador.

⁹¹ Conf. Cicero Tusc. quæst. l. i. c. 34. and Valerius Maximus, l. viii. c. 9.

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hoped to derive instruction; but was not less eager to catch amusement from their folly. While he listened to the contentious disputants, Diodorus of Iassus, and Stilpo of Megara, the former was so much puzzled by some captious sophisms of the latter, that he requested time to answer him. The king facetiously gave him by a pun the name of Kronus, (the old deposed deity), which afterwards adhered to him⁹². A better witticism, because intelligible in all languages, he directed against Sosibius. This critic indulged in the boldest conjectures; and particularly in the utmost licence of transposition. To punish his temerity, the king desired his stipend to be withheld. The critic complained: Ptolemy affected to disbelieve him: the critic averred his statement to be correct: the king carried him to the treasury; and desiring to see the list of literary pensioners who had received payment, cut off from the first names where they occurred, the syllables So Si Bi Us; which syllables, joined in one word, he handed to *Sosibius*, and by thus paying him in his own coin, reprov'd his unwarrantable freedom with ancient and venerated texts⁹³.

Four new schools established by him.
I. That of critics and commentators.

In the reign of this universal patron, the foundation was laid at Alexandria of four schools altogether distinct from those of the four sects of ancient philosophers. The first was the school of critics and commentators, which begun with Zenodotus above mentioned, and flourished through Eratosthenes, Aristophanes, Aristarchus, Apollodorus, and Aristodemus, down to the indefatigable Didymus in the Augustan age.

II. That of geometry.

The second school established by Ptolemy Soter was that of mathematics; a name recently and fitly assigned to those sciences which treat of number or magnitude. Many other branches of knowledge are acquired insensibly, and seem to flow, as it were spontaneously, into the mind: but the sciences respecting quantity, can be derived only from careful instruction or close study. We perceive every step of our progress; and few important steps are made without eager

⁹² Laertius in Diodor.

⁹³ Athenæus, l. xi. p. 493.

application and contentious effort. In many men, poetry and eloquence appear like gifts of nature; and all men are in some degree qualified to feel their effects, and to appreciate their merit. But of the labours of mathematicians, they only are the judges; and he sees nothing in a theorem, who does not perceive distinctly the whole truth that it contains. This firm and elevated science had made great progress in the Platonic academy at Athens. Plato himself was a proficient in it: if he did not invent, he was the great cultivator of geometrical analysis; which, by taking for granted the proposition to be examined, resolves it into its parts, and pursues them through their consequences, until arriving at something manifestly true, or manifestly false, the inquirer is enabled on sure grounds to affirm or deny the question originally proposed. In this manner Plato reasons through many of his dialogues. Persons ignorant of geometry, were debarred from his school; this accurate and true science being deemed an essential preparation for attainments still more lofty; for mounting into the region of ideas, and expatiating there, in the boundless fields of eternal truth⁹⁴. Innumerable were his disciples who thus united geometry with a very fanciful philosophy; and many also were those who dedicated themselves chiefly or solely to the former science. Among the latter, the most celebrated were Neocles, author of many discoveries; Leon, who wrote an approved treatise of Elements; Eudoxus, better known for his improvements in astronomy; the brothers Menechmus and Dinostratus; and last of all, the well known Euclid, who may be regarded perhaps without impropriety, as founder of the geometrical school of Alexandria⁹⁵. Though he had extended the science by many great discoveries, Euclid disdained not to write a new

⁹⁴ Proclus in Euclid. *passim*.

⁹⁵ Pappus Collect. Math. l. vii. in Proem. Theophrastus and Eudemus, both of them scholars of Aristotle, wrote the History of Mathe-

matics; from which lost works, Diogenes Laertius; Proclus, Pappus, and Theo, all three Alexandrians, collected the few particulars handed down to us.

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book of Elements; so close, yet clear in its texture, that every attempt to supersede it, has only served to evince its incomparable superiority. Euclid was not ignorant of its excellence; when asked by Ptolemy for a less operose and shorter treatise, he replied, "there is not any royal road⁹⁶ to geometry." The famous demand of the Delian oracle, to double his cubical altar⁹⁷, gave occasion to a long series of geometrical discoveries. To solve this problem exactly, two mean proportionals must be found between the magnitudes employed to express the two cubes⁹⁸. This cannot be done by means of any figures drawn by the rule and compass; that is, by the help of plain geometry. The problem therefore produced a fuller examination of the curves already known, and gave birth to many new ones. Menechmus, above mentioned, made use of the parabola and hyperbola conjunctly: but Apollonius, who holds the middle rank in the Alexandrian school between Euclid and Archimedes, contented himself with the hyperbola only and the circle. Nicomedes shortly afterwards invented the conchoid, and applied to the solution of the same question, this before unknown curve, which our great Newton found of excellent use in constructing his equations of the 3d and 4th degrees⁹⁹: so admirable is the chain of science, connecting the labours of men the most distant in time and place!

III. That of
practical
astronomy.

The third school established under this reign at Alexandria, was that of practical astronomy. By the doctrine of concentric spheres, Eudoxus, named above, undertook to explain the stationary and retrograde motions of the planets. He was the author of a work entitled the Mirror of the Heavens¹⁰⁰,

⁹⁶ Βασιλικὸν ὁδόν. Proclus Euclid, l. ii. c. 4. The ἄτραπος was a road for eastern kings, near their capitals, unembarrassed by the vehicles of ordinary passengers.

⁹⁷ Philopon. Commentar. in Analyt. Posterior. Conf. Valerius Maximus, l. viii. c. 12.

⁹⁸ Nothing is easier than the duplication of the cube to a modern mathematician. He expresses, by

number, the cube to be doubled; he doubles that number; and then extracts its cube root, as nearly as he thinks fit. This approximation will answer every practical end. But Delian Apollo was not to be thus easily satisfied. The precise solution, without an "almost or a nearly," was required.

⁹⁹ Vid. Arithmet. Universal.

¹⁰⁰ Ἐκκρίτης.

and of another containing an Ephemeris or Journal of the rising and setting of the Stars ¹⁰¹. Autolicus, who succeeded to him, has left treatises on nearly the same subjects, in one of which he establishes the roundness of the earth, the positions of the circles of the sphere, and the phenomena or effects necessarily resulting from these causes ¹⁰². It remained, however, to estimate the distances and magnitudes of the planets; to measure their movements, particularly those of the sun and moon; and to discover rules, according to which the irregularities in these movements might be ascertained and represented with some tolerable degree of precision: all this was accomplished by the astronomical school of Alexandria. Twelve years before the death of Ptolemy Soter, Timocharis and Aristillus began their observations in that capital ¹⁰³. They continued them for the space of twenty-six years, and were succeeded in their labours, by Aristarchus of Samos; by the great Hipparchus of Nicæa; and by other astronomers to be noticed in due time, down to Sosigenes of Alexandria, who enabled Julius Cæsar to reform the Roman Kalendar.

The fourth and last school erected at Alexandria, by Pto-
lemy Soter, was that of medicine ¹⁰⁴. Its first teachers were Erasistratus, before mentioned, and Herophilus, who cultivated in particular, the anatomy of man and other animals with unwearied assiduity; and whose researches in this line are said to have been promoted by such indulgences from the king, as displayed his love of science, at the expense of his humanity ¹⁰⁵.

Of Alexander's immediate successors, many through love for glory performed great actions, and several prosecuted also letters with ardour, because by letters only the memory

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IV. That of
anatomy
and medi-
cine.

Historians
and philo-
sophers in
those
times

¹⁰¹ Τα φαινόμενα.

¹⁰² Lib. Περὶ κινήσεως σφαιρῆς, Argenterat. an. 1872.

¹⁰³ Ptolemy, Syntax. Magn. l. vi. c. 3.

¹⁰⁴ Cels. in Præfat. Fulgent. Mytholog. l. i. p. 16. Galen. tom. iv.

p. 372. Isagog.

¹⁰⁵ Herophilus ille Medicus, aut Lanus, qui sexcentos exsecuit, ut naturam scrutaretur; qui hominem odijt, ut nosset. Tertul. de Anim. c. 10. Conf. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxvi. c. 3.

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of great actions can be preserved. Antipater, Eumenes, Mar-
syas brother to Antigonus; above all, Ptolemy, acquired just
praise as historians. Their contemporary Jerom of Cardia
wrote with much impartiality of the affairs of his own times,
comprehending both the first and second generation after the
Macedonian hero; for Jerom lived an hundred and four
years¹⁰⁶. Aristobulus, who had accompanied Alexander into
Upper Asia, finished at the age of eighty-four his narrative of
that expedition; and Timæus, whose general history embraced
Italy and Sicily as well as Greece and Syria, died at the court of
the second Ptolemy in his ninety-sixth year¹⁰⁷. When we con-
sider, indeed, the remarkable longevity of Alexander's cap-
tains, and other eminent persons their contemporaries, it
should seem as if the period distinguished by peculiar energy,
both in action and speculation, had been singularly favoured
by the benefits of health and strength; and that the physical
powers of men had in some measure kept pace with their
strenuous exertions in arts and arms. At this memorable era,
a scene altogether new, opened in those parts of the eastern
world, which fall within the sphere of authentic history. About
twenty generals disciplined in the school as well as in the
camp, usurped their master's conquests, and transmitted the
most considerable of them to their descendents under the name
of kingdoms. Through respect for attainments in which many
of themselves were eminent, they sought out and promoted
the learned of their times to the most important functions of
domestic and foreign policy¹⁰⁸. Demetrius Phaleræus was
thus employed first by Cassander in Athens, and then by
Ptolemy Soter in Alexandria. The same Cassander sent
Evhemerus, of whom we shall speak hereafter, on many im-
portant embassies. Xenocrates, who succeeded Plato in the
academy was famed for his strict integrity in public employ-
ments¹⁰⁹; and Theophrastus, the scholar of Aristotle, was
courted by many of the kings of his times, but preferred to

¹⁰⁶ Lucian in Macrob.
¹⁰⁷ Id. *ibid*.

¹⁰⁸ Diogen. Laert. *passim*
¹⁰⁹ Id. in Xenocrat.

all the advantages with which they tempted him, his school at Athens, of sometimes two thousand pupils, which he continued to superintend to his death, at the age of one hundred and seven years ¹¹⁰. From this time forward, we shall find in the history of the Greek kings of the East, philosophers of the Epicurean sect, as well as celebrated adherents to the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Portico, adorning the walks of public life, and intrusted with a delegated authority under princes, who valued their talents if they did not cherish their virtues. But neither in a scientific nor literary point of view will such philosophers deserve particular commemoration. None of them are distinguished as the inventors of new doctrines or the improvers of old ones. Cramped by the prejudice of system, they followed without deviation their respective masters, whose works were perpetually in their hands; their study by day, their meditation by night; consulted as the oracles of wisdom, and revered as the standards of excellence.

Egypt attained, as we shall see, its meridian of power and glory under Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, but there is abundant proof, that in the reign of his father, the best-foundations of public prosperity had been laid; that domestic industry and ingenuity flourished, and that the most profitable foreign markets were frequented. In examining this subject, I shall begin with the great emporium Alexandria, which owed to Ptolemy Soter, the completion of those noble works which long served to support, to defend, and to adorn it. The plan of the whole had been traced by the architect Deinocrates, under the eye indeed of Alexander himself; and it redounds to the honour of Ptolemy, that he finished with punctilious accuracy a plan than which none better could have possibly been devised ¹¹¹. The city stood on a low and level coast, beyond the boundaries of the Delta, since nearly ten miles west of the Canopic branch of the Nile. Confined by

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¹¹⁰ St. Hieronym. in Epistol. ad Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 10. and Strabo, l. Nepotian. xvii. p. 799. & seq.

¹¹¹ Conf. Arrian. l. iii. c. 1. Plin.

Improvements of Alexandria as an emporium. Description of that city.

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the sea, and the lake Mareotis, to little more than a mile in its dimensions from north to south, it extended above two miles on either hand along the Isthmus; and was therefore compared in form to a Macedonian cassoc, short in the body, with long outspreading arms. In opposition to common opinion, Alexander has been shown to have conformed to his preceptor's maxims in the government of kingdoms: he should seem to have paid equal attention to his rules with regard to the building of cities ¹¹². For the sake of ventilation by the Etesian winds, the streets of Alexandria were straight, spacious, and drawn at right angles to each other ¹¹³. In the middle it was perforated by two streets, each above a hundred feet wide, and the longer extending above four miles between the western gate of the city, looking towards the Necropolis, or burying ground, and the opposite gate on the East, pointing to the ancient Canopus. Both these central streets were adorned with pillars or porticoes: their houses were solid and lofty: at their meeting they formed an open square convenient for the easy intercourse among distant quarters of a place ¹¹⁴, which soon contained three hundred thousand persons of free condition, and probably a far greater number of industrious slaves. To supply this vast multitude with fresh water, the houses were provided with subterranean cisterns, into which the Nile regularly flowed at the period of annual inundation; and in which the slimy fluid gradually depositing its impurities, converted itself into a clear and wholesome beverage ¹¹⁵.

The Pharos and Heptastadium.

Directly opposite to the middle of the city, the little island Pharos rose, at less than a mile's distance in the sea; a spot ennobled by the verses of Homer ¹¹⁶, and on which Alexan-

¹¹² Aristot. Politic. l. vii. c. 11. L i. s. 30.
et seq.

¹¹³ The description in Strabo above cited, applies in part to the reign of Ptolemy Soter: for Ammianus Marcellinus, l. ii. says, Alexandria non sensim ut alix urbes, sed inter initia prima aucta per spatiosos ambitus: Conf. Diodorus,

¹¹ Strabo observes, that all the streets of Alexandria admitted loaded carriages to pass each other easily; an advantage to be found in few eastern cities in modern times.

¹¹ Hirtius de Bell. Civil. l. iii.

¹¹⁶ Odyss. f. iv. v. 355.

der had planned a lighthouse, the first work of its kind, and peculiarly useful on this coast, infested by rocks and sand banks. Ptolemy completed the design in all its parts. He joined the island of Pharos to Alexandria, by a mole seven furlongs in length. The tower¹¹⁷ destined to show mariners their way, stood at the extremity of the island: its materials consisted of white marble: its height was four hundred and fifty feet; each side of its square base, six hundred feet; and its beaming summit is said to have been seen at the distance of one hundred miles. Of this monument, ennobled by its use still more than its magnificence, and which cost Ptolemy in rearing it eight hundred talents, the architect Sostratus of Cnidus endeavoured fraudulently to usurp the whole glory with posterity. By the disloyal vanity of Sostratus, the king's name in the dedication was sculptured on a perishable paste, while his own was deeply engraven below, on the solid stone¹¹⁸: base and bootless artifice! the Pharos was not to be left, like the pyramids, to tell its own story; Ptolemy having secured the honour due to his name, by monuments more lasting than brass or marble. The Mole joining the city and island, and called from its length the Heptastadium¹¹⁹, separated the harbours of Alexandria: that towards the East called the great harbour, and the other westward called Eunostus, that is the harbour of *safe return*. These two harbours were respectively contiguous to the two principal quarters of the city; the quarter opposite to the great harbour was called Bruchion¹²⁰, an abbreviation of the Greek word, denoting "a granary," such magazines being always among the first buildings in places destined to be the seats of kings and garrisons. The western division opposite to the harbour Eunostus, retained its old Egyptian name Rhacotis, the

¹¹⁷ Conf. Strabo, Josephus, Cæmens Alexand. Geograph. Nubiens. and Suidas ad voc. Φαρος.

¹¹⁸ Lucian de Scribend. Histor. Yet Pliny l. xxii. c. 12. ascribes to Ptolemy's greatness of mind, the insertion of Sostratus' name instead of his own.

¹¹⁹ The Heptastadium was
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sometimes called the Bridge, because it contained spacious arches or openings, by means of which, vessels passed from one harbour into the other. Hirtius de Bell. Alexand.

¹²⁰ Βρουχίων a corruption from προυχίων.

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appellation of a warlike tribe of shepherds, anciently posted there against strangers who might venture to land on this long inhospitable shore, but which, by a happy change of manners, was adorned under the Ptolemies, by a monument peculiarly expressive of the greatest commercial emporium in the world.

Temple of
Serapis.

This was the temple of the god Serapis, a divinity whose migration from Sinope to Alexandria, is among the last recorded events in the reign of Ptolemy Soter. The protection of Serapis was acknowledged by sailors on the Thracian coast of the Propontis: as the patron of maritime traffic, his image was characterized by emblems of plenty and naval trophies; and so immemorial was his worship, that Jason is said to have sacrificed on his altar, when he returned from his Colchian expedition¹²¹. In consequence of the exploits of the Argonauts, and succeeding Greeks who pursued the same paths to renown, the rites of Serapis grew into great celebrity, particularly at Sinope, the mother and queen of all the Greek colonies on the Euxine¹²². The fame of the god travelled eastward; and we have seen that a temple anciently raised to him in Babylon, was repaired and adorned by Alexander, among other expedients of that politic conqueror for reviving the long lost navigation of his projected capital. After the enlightened example of a brother, on whom Ptolemy ever cast an eye of reverence, Serapis was conducted with awful solemnity into Egypt, that the blind superstitions directed in that country against a seafaring life might be counteracted by other superstitions of a more useful tendency. The Serapeum raised to him in Rhacotis came in process of time to surpass all other temples in magnificence¹²³; and that its dedication was attended with events most extraordinary, the historian Tacitus is ready to attest; whose pen has condescended on this occasion, to varnish fictions, exceeding, if possible, in

¹²¹ Conf. Polyb. l. iv. c. 39. and
Golzij. Numm. Antiq. Artic. Ægia-
lia and Sinopè.

¹²² History of Ancient Greece,

vol. iii. c. 26.

¹²³ Ammianus Marcellinus, l.
xxii. c. 16. He ranks it however, af-
ter the Roman capitol.

absurdity the vilest of monkish legends¹²⁴. In that often incredulous author, we may read the divine mandate for the transportation of Serapis; we may tremble with the relater, at the threatening phantom of the god, first upbraiding Ptolemy for neglect, and afterwards Scydrothemis, king of Sinope, for obstinacy; we may lament with a writer famed for his philosophy, the calamities inflicted on the Sinopians for reluctance in parting with their long venerated guardian: in fine, we may behold the wooden or marble idol, inspired with a living soul, spontaneously embarking in an Egyptian vessel, and sailing with miraculous celerity, in three days, from the harbour of Sinope, into that of Alexandria.

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For works of Architecture and other arts of design, Ptolemy enjoyed singular advantages in point both of materials and of instruments. His kingdom abounded beyond all other countries, in porphyry, basalts, and the finest marbles. Many of the best artists of Greece preferred Alexandria for their residence¹²⁵; and their unceasing competitions with each other, as well as their great number, gave an activity and amplitude to their labours, which will excite more incredulity than wonder, among those who make the examples before their eyes the sole standards of their opinions. The age of Alexander indeed created such multitudes of artists, as never appeared in any other. To instance in a single art and in a single city: scarcely ten years after the premature death of that conqueror, the Athenians erected in one year to Demetrius Phalereus, three hundred and sixty statues, of which one hundred and sixty were of bronze, and of these many in chariots or on horseback¹²⁶.

Flourishing state of the fine arts.

¹²⁴ Tacitus, Hist. l. iv. c. 84.

¹²⁵ If we believe the story in Pliny, l. xxxv. c. 10. Apelles came there against his will: Ptolemy and this great painter, it seems, had been on bad terms in Alexander's lifetime.

¹²⁶ Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiv. Conf.

Plut. Rei Gerend. Præcept. p. 820.

The richest people on earth could not now make such a present to their sovereign. Alexander, it must be remembered, had shortly before his death sent ten thousand talents into Greece, to be expended in works of art.

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VIII.

Illustrated
in the coro-
nation fes-
tival of
Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus.

But of the flourishing state of Egypt, with regard to the fine arts, and every kind of productive and commercial industry, a signal illustration appeared in the coronation festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus, celebrated by Ptolemy Soter two years before his death, when he associated that favourite son to his sovereignty. This solemnity, in which some particulars should seem not to have hitherto been viewed in their proper light, is said to have attracted to Alexandria crowds of strangers from India to Greece; from Colchis and the mountains of Caucasus, to the southern extremity of Ethiopia. The spacious streets of Alexandria were ready to receive them; and to leave room for the processions that constituted the principal part in the exhibition ¹²⁷! Innumerable tents and many ornamental edifices were raised for the occasion, among which the pavilion, where the Ptolemies entertained the more illustrious portion of the strangers, has been particularly commemorated. Its pillars were seventy-five feet high, imitating alternately the palm tree, and the Thyrsus of Bacchus. It was surrounded by a sunk gallery for attendants; and communicated with many grottoes or rooms for entertainment. Its middle was overshadowed by a beautiful scarlet canopy, bordered with white; the ground floor was covered with Babylonian or Persian carpets, exquisitely painted with natural objects, and strewed dispersedly with a rich variety of real flowers, which astonished northern strangers since the festival was celebrated in winter. The vestibule displayed a hundred marble figures of animals, works of great masters, and the most admired paintings of the Sicyonian school. Two eagles of gold crowned the summit of the edifice, each above twenty feet high. The burnished tripods and sculptured vases, the gemmed caskets breathing perfumes, the couches and golden tables for the guests, it would be tedious to describe. The value of the gold only, exceeded two millions sterling.

¹²⁷ What follows is extracted preserved in Athenæus, l. v. p. 196 wholly from Callixenus of Rhodes, —203.

In the procession which ensued, and which lasted from morning till sunset, the superstition of Greece was recommended to the Egyptians and Asiatics, by whatever could please the fancy or soothe the senses. The image of each divinity, always of a colossal magnitude, was accompanied by his emblems, his altar, and his car of triumph, while the dramatic representation of his attendants, or paintings nearly as impressive, exhibited the labours which he had encountered and the benefits which he had conferred. The pomp of Bacchus is described circumstantially, and this part may help the imagination to grasp the magnificence of the whole. His car, crowned with vines and ivy, was preceded and followed by troops of Sileni and Satyrs, of boys and Bacchanals. Golden censers diffused the most precious perfumes. After the image of the god followed that of his nurse Nysa; at first reclined in her chariot, but then rising spontaneously, and pouring forth libations of milk. Wine distilled from innumerable sources, particularly two huge vessels, one of silver, the other of panther's skin, and from the capacious receiver of a movable winepress drawn by three hundred men, and trodden by sixty satyrs, enlivening their work by the vintage hymn.

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The procession.

This procession was only a prelude to one more extraordinary, in which Bacchus appeared in his character of an eastern conqueror; an idol eighteen feet high mounted on an elephant, attended by five hundred nymphs in purple tissues, and a proportional number of satyrs completely armed. Twenty elephants¹²⁸ adorned the most splendid of Roman triumphs, that of the emperor Aurelian; but twenty-four chariots, each drawn by four of these huge animals, appeared in one scene of this gorgeous procession; in which the Ptolemies had united the rarest objects in nature with the most exquisite productions of art. It is sufficient to mention eight hundred wagons loaded with spices and perfumes; negroes bearing ebony, ivory, and gold; the natives of Hindostan displaying in captivity the elegant cloths and rich jewels of

¹²⁸ Vopiscus Hist. August. p. 220.

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their country; birds of various plumage hovering round artificial grottoes; innumerable yokes of fierce panthers and beautiful zebras; lions and tigers with Hyrcanian and Molossian dogs, rivalling those savages in strength or fierceness; the white oxen of India, with the Camelopard and Rhinoceros of Ethiopia. This variegated spectacle, disposed with regular symmetry or more artful disorder, was occasionally animated by a chorus of six hundred musicians; and what is worthy of remark, the honours of Bacchus terminated with a procession of two thousand Egyptian bulls, representing the god Apis: a circumstance which indicates Ptolemy's tolerant purpose of establishing a sort of community of worship between his Egyptian and Grecian subjects. The pageant of Bacchus was followed by that of the other divinities. Alexander, alone more godlike than the whole hierarchy, came the last of all. His statue was of pure gold, and his car drawn by elephants of unrivalled magnitude. Pallas and Victory attended their favourite hero.

The sacred
games—the
pre-
sents given
and received
by the
Ptolemies.

This solemnity was succeeded by the sacred games, which like the games of Olympia lasted five days. Vases, talents, and tripods, were distributed by the Ptolemies to the conquerors. But these princes were rewarded in their turn by offerings from their wealthy subjects or strangers; and, by the Grecian deputies, the elder Ptolemy and his queen Berenice were honoured with presents inestimable to superstition or vanity, the assignment of groves and altars within the precincts of the temple of Dodona. The offerings, made to the Ptolemies, consisted as usual in crowns of gold, which the eagerness of the donors had announced to the royal treasurers before the commencement of the games¹²⁹. From the ac-

¹²⁹ Προθυμίας, των σπιδαντων. p. 303. and again ιστανθησαν Πτολιμα-
οις χρυσοις στεφανοις και τιμηται εν Δωδων-
α. Athenæus, *ibid.* Casaubon in his
Latin translation has mistaken
these words; if the victors in the

games, and not the Ptolemies were
honoured with crowns, the former
must, according to the text, have
had groves also assigned to them at
Dodona.

count taken of them by these officers, their value appears to have amounted to nearly six hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling ¹³⁰.

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At the revival of letters in the fifteenth century, which was not immediately followed by the revival of good taste in literary composition, the historians of modern Europe delighted in pompous descriptions of religious and military processions, whose prolixity is justly condemned by the criticism of the present age. I might fear to incur a similar censure, if in the history of the Ptolemies, this showy pageant had been introduced by way of ornament. But in appreciating the condition of ancient nations, it becomes necessary from the want of more direct evidence, to turn to account every important monument that time has preserved. The paintings and sculptures crowding as it were this gorgeous solemnity, warrant the inference that coarser and more useful productions of art greatly abounded in Egypt: the high improvements in the trades of the gardener and florist, indicate a proportional proficiency in agriculture; the profusion of precious commodities enriching the procession, attests the commercial intercourse of Egypt, with neighbouring and remote countries; and the extraordinary advancements in national prosperity, made in the course of one reign, afford a striking illustration of the happy change that might yet be effected in any considerable province of the East, under mild and equitable laws, which would necessarily draw to it in a short time, great accessions of wealth and populousness from all the disorderly governments in its neighbourhood.

Inferences
to be
drawn
from this
festival,
with regard
to the in-
dustry and
wealth of
Egypt.

¹³⁰ Talents 2239, Minas 50. The nas; the Attic, only 60. Egyptian talent contained 80 Mi-

al.

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